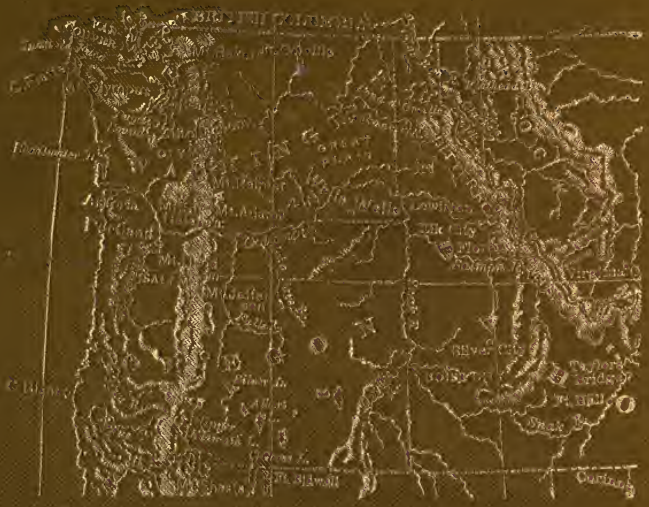
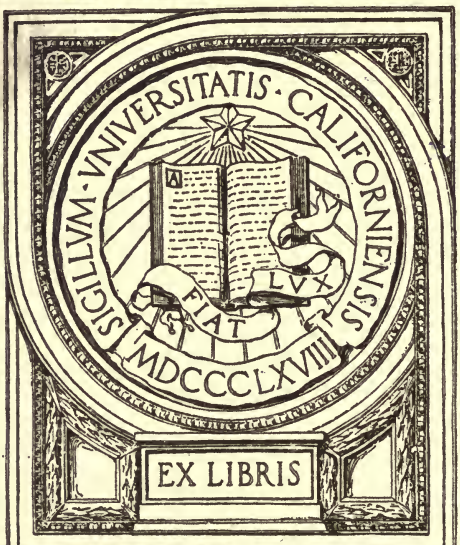


INDIAN MISSIONS



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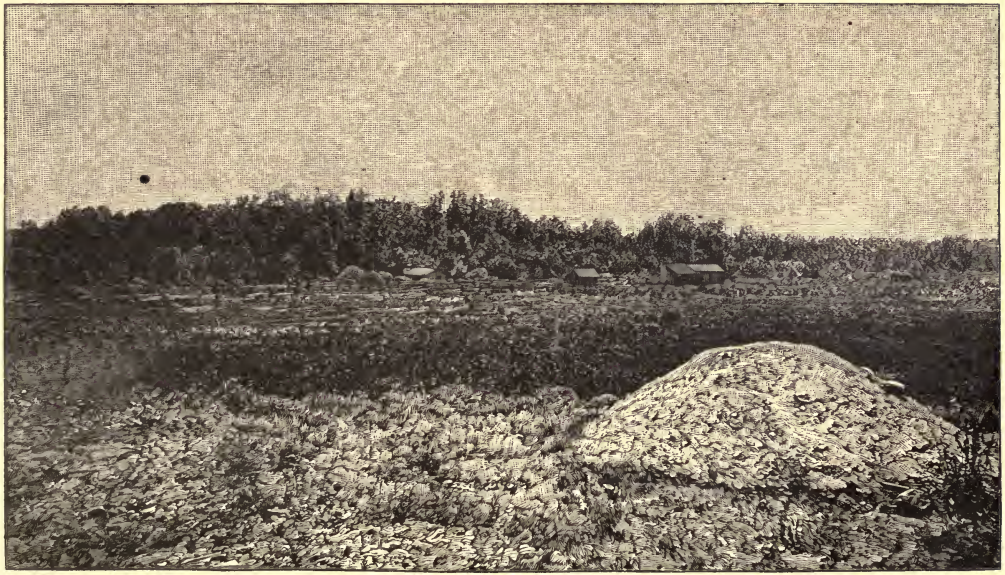

Grave of Dr. Whitman and companions, with houses in the distance at the place where they were killed.

HISTORY OF

INDIAN MISSIONS

ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

OREGON, WASHINGTON AND IDAHO.

BY

REV. MYRON EELLS,

Missionary of the American Missionary Association.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION

BY

REV. G. H. ATKINSON, D.D.

PHILADELPHIA:
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DEDICATION.

TO MY FATHER,

REV. CUSHING EELLS,

The only surviving ordained Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Indians of the North-west Coast,

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is a pleasant fact that the son of a missionary, born where his parents long taught the Indians by precept and example, now writes the story of the work and its results.

It adds interest to the narrative that he dedicates it to that father, who yet continues to sow the "good seed of the word," and to gather its fruits.

This history can be attested by living witnesses, and facts which are patent to many. The author's plan is to follow both the order of events and the logical relation of topics. As the subjects treated are intermingled with the entire history of the United States, the history of missions to the Indians of Oregon and Washington is intensely interesting. Its germs are found in the first ideas of God, given by the earliest explorers, Lewis and Clarke, and by hunters and trappers. These living seed-

thoughts prompted the mission of Indians to St. Louis in 1832, asking for more light and for teachers. It was the Macedonian cry repeated, "Come over and help us." It was the voice of God in a strange tongue, to which more than one, guided by the Spirit, were ready to respond.

These pages show how the coming of those missionary men and women and children over the plains and mountains, and round by the ocean, and their quiet, patient, self-denying work for the Indian, the trader and the trapper, the lonely traveler and the scattered settlers, in order to establish Christian homes, schools, and churches, were the real formative agencies of what is best and noblest in our present society and self-government. The wandering hunter and trapper failed, and the speculating colonist also failed. The mere trader proved a poor builder of commonwealths. The traveling explorer was only a reporter. It remained for the missionary to be the centre of a permanent life, out of which might grow the future State.

The discovery and confession of this fact by the British, who sought to plant settlements

here, and hold them as they do other colonies, is a strong testimony to the two-fold profit of the Gospel to men for "the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

With these pages before us, it is evident that the American missionaries, sent to the Indians of western and eastern Oregon from 1834 to 1840, became the founders of the United States settlements, and of the provisional government, and thus of holding this north-west coast for our nation years before the boundary question was settled by the treaty of 1846, or Congress had authorized the territorial government in 1849.

Rev. Jason Lee, while doing his full duty as a missionary, took measures to break the British embargo on cattle, enforced by the Hudson's Bay Company's refusal to sell, or allow an American settler to own a cow or an ox, and, with others, secured a band of 600 from California in 1837. These cattle were distributed among the subscribers to the fund through the valley, and thus their farms were stocked and their home comforts and improvements made sure, and so the scheme of the Hudson's Bay

Company, and their adherents, to exclude or drive out every United States settler, was foiled.

Dr. Marcus Whitman, as a missionary, with Gen. A. L. Lovejoy as his companion, and at the risk of losing their lives, made that ever-famous winter march of 1842–3, over the Rocky Mountains, for almost the sole purpose of introducing an immigration which would outnumber and out-vote those brought from Europe and the Red River country by the Hudson's Bay Company. He returned to the East in 1843, and thereafter led about a thousand men, women and children, with their household goods, in wagons, to the Columbia River.

Thus Sir George Simpson's attempt at Washington to buy Oregon for Newfoundland and the cod-fisheries, was defeated. The wagon route to the Pacific, before Fremont became the Pathfinder, was opened and demonstrated the truth of what had been previously denied—the possibility of taking wagons to the Columbia River, and the way was made plain for subsequent immigrations.

These missionaries were the first to establish schools, seminaries, colleges and churches

in Oregon and Washington, and the first to bring and use the printing press. They have been the first to describe the country, compile its history, trace the ethnology of its inhabitants, unfold the resources of its minerals, soil and climate. They early taught the Indians the use of letters, trained them to industrial pursuits, as farmers and mechanics, and prepared the way for the present higher cultivation and better domestic life of many of the tribes.

They, more than any others, have diffused the spirit of peace among those in contact with their missions, and have often assuaged the war-spirit.

One finishes this brief volume with the strong impression that God provided and sustained these missions for great good to the long-neglected savages, many of whom now give evidence of a new life in Christ, and of better prospects in this world; and of richer blessings to our own people and country.

G. H. ATKINSON.

PREFACE.

THE writer has no pet theories in regard to the civilization and christianization of the Indians, unless the commands of the Bible to preach the Gospel may be called theories.

A native of the region about which he writes, a son of parents who devoted themselves to the work in 1838, a resident of Oregon, Washington and Idaho for about thirty-five years, and an experience of more than seven years in the missionary work, have given him, he humbly trusts, some qualifications for the work.

In chapters two and three the figures given in regard to church membership and farm products may be considered too large, but they have been taken from official reports, and the statements of credible witnesses. It is possible that unwittingly they have been made larger than impartial persons would consider the facts warrant, but in the words of another,

"if one-fourth of all that is reported has been accomplished, a great work has been done."

He feels largely indebted in the preparation of these pages to the following works, and gratefully acknowledges the assistance they have rendered:

The Reports of the Commisioner of Indian Affairs from 1865 to 1880; and of the Board of Indian Commissioners from 1872 to 1880; The Missionary Herald from 1834 to 1852; Tracy's History of the A. B. C. F. M.; The Annual Reports of the A. B. C. F. M. from 1837 to 1852; Parker's Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains; Hine's Explorations in Oregon; and Oregon and its Institutions; Dr. White's Travels and Adventures beyond the Rocky Mountains; Dunn on the Oregon Territory; Twiss on the Oregon Territory; Mrs. Victor's River of the West; Thornton's Oregon and California; Gray's History of Oregon; Meacham's Wigwam and Warpath; Spalding's Congressional Pamphlet in answer to Bishop J. B. A. Brouillet; Speeches by Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D.D., before the A. B. C. F. M. and New York Chamber of Commerce in 1868, and

before the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society in 1876; Speech by Hon. W. H. Gray before the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society in 1877; and two letters by the same to the Bureau of Education at Washington on the Indian Question; C. Eells' Centennial Sketch of the Missions of the A. B. C. F. M. on the North-west Coast; and Report to the same Society of the work of Dr. Marcus Whitman; The Council Fire 1879-1881, and Hon. Elwood Evans' Centennial Address on Washington Territory; Oregon Archives; General Howard's Chief Joseph, his pursuit and capture; the Addresses before the Oregon Pioneer Society from 1873–1881; H. H. Gilfry's Centennial Address on Oregon, and A Century of Dishonor, by H. H.

He is also indebted for favors to: Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D.D., Rev. H. T. Cowley, Gen. J. Lane, Gen. O. O. Howard, Rev. H. K. Hines, Mr. C. H. Walker, Mrs. B. W. Cooke, Miss S. L. McBeth, Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D.D., Rev. C. Eells, Captain C. Willoughby, and Colonel O. Wood.

The greater part of Chapter Six appeared in the Council Fire in 1880–'81.

Most of the sketches of the work on the various reservations have been submitted to persons who are admitted to be most competent judges.

It is not claimed that all that has been done for the Indians has been done by missionaries, nor does the writer intend to convey that impression, or to place any disparagement on the labors of others. Much has been done by these not recorded here, because the author's aim has been to give simply a record of mission work, and its results.

If this little volume shall do any good to the great cause of missions, and the furtherance of Christ's Gospel, the author will be amply repaid. M. E.

Skokomish, Washington Territory,
October, 1882.

HISTORY OF INDIAN MISSIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY MISSIONS, 1834–1852.

"Clouds and darkness *are* round about him: righteousness and judgment *are* the habitation of his throne."—*Psalm* 97: 2.

"Look at the picture, half a century old!
"Four painted savages, not athirst for gold;
"Nor by ambition or revenge impelled,
"Stand pleading where the tide of traffic swelled,
"By the Missouri's mighty, restless flood!
"They seek the Christian's book, the white man's God."

A. T. Hawley, 1880.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE asserted: "No mission has yet been an entire failure. We, who see such small segments of the mighty cycles of God's providence, often imagine some to be failures which God does not. * * * If we could see a large arc of the great providential cycles, we might sometimes rejoice when we weep. But God giveth not account of any of His matters. We must just trust to His wis-

dom. Let us do our duty. He will work out a glorious consummation."*

When Lewis and Clark made their journey across the continent in 1804–6 they interested some of the Indians in the religion of the Bible, who desired to know more in regard to it. The explorers promised that they would use their influence to have religious teachers sent to the Pacific coast. The Indians waited in vain for such instructors. After the fur traders came, about 1811, some of them instructed the Indians further of the true God, so that previous to the arrival of missionaries, the Cayuses had learned to assemble on the Sabbath for worship. Anxious to get the Bible, other traders and trappers had sold them cards, telling them they were the Bible; but the Indians concluded that men who could get drunk and kill each other did not love the true God. Captain Bonneville states that among the most pleasant scenes of his life were the hours he spent in 1832 among the Nez Perces, while teaching them of Christianity in answer to their earnest questions.

Their desire for more instruction became so great that in 1832 a deputation of five Nez Perces and other Indians journeyed eastward until they reached St. Louis. They found Captain Clark, the old explorer, then Superintendent of

* Pacific, San Francisco, Dec. 3, 1879.

Indian Affairs for the whole north-west, and made known their wants to him; but, being a Catholic, he studiously avoided making the facts public. Having waited until they were wearied, one of them is said to have uttered a lament which was heard by a Christian man, and their request thus known, was answered by two missionary societies—that of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.*

In June, 1833, Rev. Jason Lee, of Canada East, was ordained in New England, and appointed by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church to superintend their missions in Oregon. In March, 1834, in company with his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, and two lay members, Cyrus Shepherd and P. L. Edwards, he crossed the continent, aided by the expedition of Captain Nathaniel Wyeth, who was intending to engage in the fur trade in Oregon. It was their purpose to engage in missionary work east of the Cascade Mountains, but Dr. John McLaughlin, Superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company, persuaded them to settle in the Willamette Valley. Having

* The portraits of two of these Indians, Hee-oh'ks-te-kin and H'co-a-h'co-a-h'cotes-min, or Rabbit Skin Leggings, and No Horns on his Head, are preserved in "Catlin's American Indians."

reached that valley in September of the same year, they soon erected a log cabin ten miles north of where Salem, Oregon, now stands. One of them proceeded to Fort Vancouver, the chief post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and began a school composed of half-breed children and those three-fourths white, whose parents were connected with the company. The others gathered some dozens of the Indian children into a little log school-house at the mission station, and thus established "The Oregon Mission Manual Labor School." This soon became quite flourishing, promising great usefulness to the Indians. In January, 1837, Captain W. A. Slocum, U. S. N., of the Brig Loriot, visited the school and reported very favorably in regard to it. "I have seen," he wrote, "children who two years ago were roaming over their own native wilds in a state of savage barbarism, now being brought within the knowledge of moral and religious instruction, becoming useful members of society, by being taught the most useful of all arts—agriculture—and all this without the slightest compulsion." The success of this union of mental and moral training impressed him so favorably that he left fifty dollars as his donation to the school.

The missionaries also preached to the members of the Hudson's Bay Company and other

whites in the region, and so great was the demand for education and Christian labor that Mr. Lee earnestly asked for more laborers. Accordingly, Dr. E. White and wife, Mr. A. Beers, Mr. W. H. Wilson and three unmarried ladies in 1836 were sent out by way of Cape Horn, reaching Oregon in May, 1837, and in September following, Rev. David Leslie and family, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins and Miss Margaret Smith arrived.

In 1836, a Cayuse chief, Wai-l'ep-tu-leek, brought his family to the school; but in February of the year following, three of his children died from fever. Other Indian children were sick and some died, which caused the chief to leave, and created a prejudice against the school among the Indians, which it was not easy to overcome.

In 1838, a new station was begun at the Dalles by Revs. D. Lee and Perkins, and preaching begun among the Calapooias. The call seemed so great that Rev. J. Lee, the Superintendent, returned East, overland, to secure a large addition of laborers. As soon as he reached the Shawnee mission he received a letter which had been sent to him by express, stating that his wife and infant son were dead.

He still proceeded with his work of urging a large reinforcement. In face of opposition

on account of the expense, he succeeded in obtaining all that he requested. Five missionaries, one physician, six mechanics, four farmers, one steward or accountant, and four female teachers—thirty-six adults in all, together with seventeen children—were sent out in 1839 by way of Cape Horn, and they arrived in Oregon in May, 1840. Among these were: Rev. A. F. Waller, G. Hines, J. L. Parrish, L. H. Judson, and J. Olley, Dr. L. H. Babcock, and Mr. George Abernethy.

More was now done than ever before, both for the Indians and whites. A mission was begun at Clatsop under Mr. Parrish, another on Puget Sound near Nisqually, under Rev. J. P. Richmond. Mr. Waller was assigned to the Indians at the Willamette settlement, Mr. Leslie to the whites at the same place, Mr. Hines to those at Oregon City and Tualatin Plains.

There was apparently a great awakening among the Indians at the Dalles, and nearly the whole tribe, about 1,000 in number, professed conversion, and were received into the church.

A few years later Mr. Hines reports: "Most have relapsed, a few keep up the outward forms, but their religion appears to be more of the head than the heart, though doubtless they are better than if there had been no missionaries."*

* Exploring Expedition to Oregon, page 159.

Not long after the arrival of this last reinforcement, affairs began to grow more discouraging. The mission school near Salem dwindled to almost nothing. Captain Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Squadron, visited the mission in 1841, and says: "We hoped to get sight of the Indians of the Methodist mission, whom they were teaching, but saw only four servants. We however were told that there was a school of twenty or twenty-five scholars ten miles away. In a few days we visited the mill where the school was situated, but were told that it was not in a condition to be visited." A tour was made into the Umpqua valley, by Messrs. J. Lee, Hines, and White.

They preached to the Indians on many occasions, but concluded that it was not wise to open a mission there, partly owing to the rapidity with which the Indians seemed to be wasting away. The station on Puget Sound was so unsuccessful that it was abandoned.

The Methodist Board in New York too, became dissatisfied with the small returns received from the large amount expended, and determined, July, 1843, to send Rev. George Gary to supersede Mr. Lee as Superintendent, with full power to determine nearly everything in regard to the mission.

The charges were that they "had been misled

as to the necessity for so great a number of missionaries in Oregon, and to them the unaccountable fact that they had not been able to obtain any satisfactory report of the manner in which the large appropriations to the late reinforcement had been disbursed."

Mr. Hines defends the mission and Mr. Lee, by saying that the Indian population had been wasting away like the dews of the morning, between the time the great reinforcement was called for and its arrival. Rev. S. Parker, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, had made a similar mistake in estimating the Calapooia tribe at 8,000 in 1836, but in 1840 only 600 could be found. The same was true of other tribes, so that Mr. Lee was not alone in his disappointment. In reference to the pecuniary affairs, Mr. Hines says that on account of the large amount of business, Mr. Lee had transferred this department to Mr. George Abernethy, afterwards Gov. Abernethy, who had kept his books correctly, but that owing, doubtless, to the large amount of business, and the difficulty of transporting reports to the East, they had not found their way to New York.* Undoubtedly there must be truth in this defense, as both Mr. Lee and Governor

* Exploring Expedition to Oregon.

Abernethy have earned for themselves a high reputation.

In May, 1844, Mr. Gary reached Oregon, but before that, Mr. Lee had returned East to attend to affairs connected with the mission, with the expectation of coming again to Oregon, not knowing that he had been superseded. He died in Lower Canada in 1845.

After a survey of the ground, and a full consultation with the mission, Mr. Gary determined to sell all the property at Clatsop, and abandon that station; to dismiss all the laymen connected with the mission except one at the Dalles, and either pay their expenses to the East, if they wished to return, or to pay them an equivalent out of the mission property in Oregon, if they preferred to remain—an arrangement which was satisfactory to these laymen, all but one of whom, Dr. Babcock, preferred to remain.

Mr. Gary also determined to close the Indian school. In 1841 this school numbered 40 children and was too large for its building. The situation, however, was unhealthy, and it was removed south ten miles, to where Salem now stands. With the consent and advice of the Home Board a larger building was erected, which cost $10,000. In 1842 the school moved into it, and at first seemed to be flourishing,

but after a few months a fatal disease carried off many of the children, others ran away, others were stolen by their parents, and the few that were left were mostly suffering from scrofula; hence it was not strange that Mr. Gary closed the school. The property was sold to the Trustees of the Oregon Institute, for $4,000, an institution which has since grown into the Willamette University.

Only five clergymen were now connected with the mission: Messrs Leslie, Waller, Hines, Perkins and the Superintendent, and the Dalles was the only occupied station remaining. Messrs. Hines and Gary returned East soon after; in 1847 the station at the Dalles was transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and thus that mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church was brought to a close.

About the time the Methodist Church began its work in Oregon, the A. B. C. F. M. also laid plans for work in the same region. At that time this Society was supported by Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches.

In 1834, the latter denomination, having resolved to sustain a mission west of the Rocky Mountains, requested the American Board to assume direction of it. The request was com-

plied with, and Rev. Samuel Parker, Rev. J. Dunbar, and Mr. S. Allis, left Ithaca, New York, in May, to explore the country. They arrived at St. Louis too late to join the annual caravan of fur traders, whose protection they needed in crossing the mountains. Messrs. Dunbar and Allis engaged in missionary labor among the Pawnees, but Mr. Parker, in April, 1835, was joined by Marcus Whitman, M.D., and they proceeded to St. Louis. Under the protection of the American Fur Company they traveled to Green River, a branch of the Colorado, the rendezvous of that Company. Here various tribes of Indians from both sides of the Rocky Mountains were accustomed annually to meet the whites for trade, and the information obtained from traders, trappers, travelers, and Indians, was such as warranted, in their opinion, the establishment of a mission. Accordingly Dr. Whitman returned to make arrangements for it, while Mr. Parker went on to prepare the way, and having explored the region of the Columbia River, returned by way of the Sandwich Islands and Cape Horn in 1837, and published an instructive volume in regard to his journey.

Dr. Whitman returned, accompanied by two Nez Perces Indians. He reached his home at Rushville, N. Y., at a late hour on Saturday

night, and the next morning first made known his return to the neighborhood by entering church with his two Indians, where they produced a sensation, the people supposing him to be in the Rocky Mountains. As he had spent Saturday night at the residence of a brother, his own mother did not know of his return until he came down the aisle of the church escorting his dusky companions. The Sabbath worshipers were no less startled by the strange appearance of the three travelers, than by the shrill cry of the missionary's mother: "Why, there's Marcus Whitman!" The next year, on the journey to the Pacific coast, these Indians were especially serviceable. At one time at the difficult crossing of a river, one of them took a small cord in his mouth and swam across; with this he drew a larger rope over, and thus at last all were safely transferred to the other side.

Early in 1836 Dr. Whitman (having married), Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, and Mr. W. H. Gray, proceeded across the continent, a distance then estimated to be twenty-three hundred miles from the western bounds of Missouri. They were greatly assisted in the journey by the American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, the latter of which promised them aid after they should reach Oregon.

Some Nez Perces Indians also, whom Mr. Parker had encouraged to expect missionaries about that time, traveled several days to meet them.

Some facts respecting Mrs. Spalding, as given by her husband, indicate her force of character:

After Dr. Whitman's return from Green River the previous year, his betrothed was ready to go, but a companion, and he a married man, must also be procured for the mission. Many persons were asked, but in vain. He heard of Mr. Spalding, and with the permission of the Board determined to see if he could be obtained. Dr. Whitman found him and his wife in a sleigh, in the deep snows of Western New York, on their way to the mission among the Osage Indians, under commission from the A. B. C. F. M. Mrs. Spalding was recovering from a lingering illness, and unable to walk a quarter of a mile. Dr. Whitman overtaking them, hailed them with:

"We want you for the Oregon Mission."

Mr. Spalding. "How long will the journey take?"

Dr. W. "The summer of two years."

Mr. S. "What convoy shall we have?"

Dr. W. "The American Fur Company to the divide."

Mr. S. "What shall we have to live on?"

Dr. W. "Buffalo meat till we raise our own grain."

Mr. S. "How shall we journey?"

Dr. W. "On horseback."

Mr. S. "How cross the rivers?"

Dr. W. "Swim them."

After this brief dialogue, Mr. Spalding turned to his wife and said: "My dear, my mind is made up; it is not your duty to go, but we will leave it to you after we have prayed."

By this time they had reached a tavern in the town of Howard, N. Y. Taking a private room, they each prayed in turn, and then Mrs. Spalding was left to herself. In about ten minutes she appeared with a beaming face and said:

"I have made up my mind to go."

"But your health, my dear?"

"I like the command just as it stands—'Go ye into all the world,' with no exceptions for poor health."

"But the perils in your weak condition. You don't begin to think how weak you are."

"The dangers in the way and my weak condition are His. Duty is mine."

"But the Indians will take you prisoner. They are frantic for such captives. You will never see your friends again." And the strong man broke down and began to cry.

Was it the wife that answered, or was it a voice from the old time? "What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem" or in the Rocky Mountains "for the name of the Lord Jesus."

The way was perilous. The Hudson's Bay Company had said: "Neither wagons nor women can ever cross the terrible rock barriers that wall out Oregon from the United States." Trappers, traders, travelers, everybody echoed the words, "No white woman can cross the mountains and live." Catlin, famous for his travels among the Indians, said at Pittsburgh: "They could never take the women through. One woman tried, but the company was massacred, and never heard of again." Similar tales were repeated by others, but said Mr. Spalding, in regard to his wife, "It didn't move her a hair."

When they reached Council Bluffs, Missouri, they found that they were five and a-half days journey behind the American Fur Company, and it was only after a hard race that they overtook the company at Loup Fork; the company apparently resolved to keep ahead and not allow the missionary band to go with them, as Mr. Spalding believed, although arrangements had been previously made to journey with them.

Mrs. Spalding was by no means strong, and on the morning of July fourth, owing to the severity of the journey, she fainted, and thought she was about to die. As they laid her upon the ground she said, "Don't put me on that horse again; leave me and save yourselves. Tell mother I am glad I came." But she revived and passed on.

As the Methodist missionaries had at first intended to locate east of the Cascade Mountains, but owing to the advice of Dr. McLaughlin, had changed to Western Oregon, so these had originally intended to work in Western Oregon, but on finding that the Methodists were already there, under advice of the same company, they located in Eastern Oregon.

Mr. Spalding began work among the Nez Perces, at Lapwai, the last of November, 1837, and Dr. Whitman among the Cayuses at Waiilatpu, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, on the tenth of December. Mr. Gray aided these brethren in preparing homes —a labor in which some of the Indians, the Nez Perces, especially, assisted. He also visited other tribes.

The Indians seemed so desirous of religious instruction that the next year Mr. Gray was sent East by the mission to ask the Board for more missionaries. Four of the Nez Perces ac-

companied him, taking with them a large number of horses and other property, from the sale of which they expected to obtain means to aid in the expense of conducting the missionaries to their country. But when they reached the Platte River they were attacked by a party of Sioux, who killed the Nez Perces, and took all the property, Mr. Gray alone escaping.

Such seemed to be the demand for teachers that the Board sent to Oregon, Rev. E. Walker and Rev. C. Eells, who, with their wives, had been previously assigned to the Zulus of South-eastern Africa, and Rev. A. B. Smith, with Mr. Gray and wife. These started in March, and reached Walla Walla, Aug. 29th, 1838.

The following incidents indicate their hardships. Mrs. Walker was usually cheerful, even when others were down-hearted, but one day when they were camped on the north fork of the Platte, it rained very heavily, and worse still, the water was rising over the "bottom."

Mrs. Smith entered the tent of Mrs. Walker, found her things piled up, and everything somewhat wet, while she, in rather an odd position, was shedding tears.

"Why, Mrs. Walker," she exclaimed, "what is the matter?"

"I am thinking how comfortable my father's hogs are," she replied.

Another time they made a journey of about forty miles before breakfast, which they did not get until about three o'clock in the afternoon.

A great portion of the way they had so little flour that they were obliged to make buffalo meat and other game the staff of life, which proved quite unhealthy to some. When they were within 500 miles of Fort Hall, and learned that Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding had sent corn meal and other provisions to that fort, they were at first almost overcome, and felt that the God of missions had foreseen their wants and seasonably supplied them.

At a rendezvous of the fur companies and Indians, when half way across, and 1,100 miles from the western boundary of Missouri, they found flour two dollars a pound, coffee and sugar three dollars a pint, salt, of which their supply was about exhausted, was not to be had for any price; they bought a pint of tea for three dollars; tobacco was from three to five dollars a pound, and whisky thirty dollars a gallon, yet most of the traders and trappers were so drunk some days as to be unfit for business.

Mrs. Eells graphically writes of their adventures: "On the fifteenth of June we crossed the Sweetwater. I rode along the bank, saw the carts cross the water and thought it was about three feet deep, though many of the loose

horses were swimming. I felt a little afraid and said to Mr. Gray, 'We will stop until our husbands have taken the mules across, and return for us,' as Mr. Eells had gone to lead the way for the pack animals, the other gentlemen to drive them. Mr. Gray, the last after the mules, said, 'The ladies come directly after us.' Mrs. Gray went first and I followed her. My horse mired, entering the river. I somehow managed to dismount and wade through the water and mud on to the bank again, but saw no one coming to my assistance. As soon as I could I went back and tried to help my horse out, but he struggled so that I could not reach his bridle, when Mr. Smith came to my help. As soon as we were both out, I saw Mr. Eells and myself covered with mud, and found my strength nearly all gone. Mr. E. asked if I was hurt. I said, 'I thought only frightened.' By this time the company were all over and gone, and we must not stop. Mr. E. had a tin cup fastened to his belt, and he rinsed the mud off my cloak, and then set me on my horse again, and we went safely across. We then rode four and a-half hours without getting off our horses. By this time the upper side of my clothes were nearly dry, while the underside were wet as when we came from the river. At noon I changed my shoes and stockings, dried

my other clothes on me as well as I could, and in the afternoon rode three and a-half hours again. This to me was a pretty sorrowful day, though I had great reason to be thankful that I was not hurt, neither did I take cold. * *

"There is much more danger attending the journey than we had supposed. Since we left the States we have found that horseback riding in imagination, and in reality, are two different things. We rise at half-past three in the morning. During considerable part of the way we are liable to be met by war parties of wild Indians, and if we are not sufficiently strong, our animals may all be stolen, and we left to wander in the wilderness with savages and wild beasts. The first week after we left Independence, Mo., three of our best horses, which cost two hundred dollars, were stolen. In four or five weeks another became lame, so that we were obliged to sell him at half price. I believe we agree that no pen can paint the realities of this journey so that any one who has not tried will understand it.

"Now, although it costs me tears every time I write home, when I think how neat and nice we used to go to church together, and my tears are never suppressed; yet I do not wish to return, nor have I once regretted that I left all my dear friends, and all that my soul holds dearest

on earth. No, we rather count it a privilege if we may take our place among the heathen and be the means of doing them any good. I only regret that I am not better qualified for my work."

One great cause of trouble with them was that they were obliged to travel on the Sabbath, as the fur companies did so, yet it seemed about as necessary thus to do, as on an ocean steamer on the same day. Indeed, when they were at Cincinnati, the advice of Dr. Lyman Beecher was asked, and he said, substantially, that if he was in a ship on the ocean, when Saturday night came he would not jump into the ocean. Still some could hardly make up their minds that it was right to break one of God's commands in order to fulfill another, although they often spoke of the journey "as going to sea on the dry land."

When they reached Walla Walla the settlements were described: "The country is large and *with comparatively few inhabitants.* The Hudson's Bay Company has a number of trading posts, which are generally about three hundred miles apart. Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding each has a station. They are 125 miles apart; the Methodist mission two stations, one 150 miles, and the other 400 miles from here. Besides these, there are no others in this great Territory."

Mails usually came once in six months, yet a letter dated September 10th, 1841, was received at the Spokane mission July, 1843, and seven or eight donation boxes to the mission, from friends in the East, were lost in the Columbia River about the same time.

On the arrival of this mission reinforcement, Mr. Gray was associated with Mr. Spalding. Mr. Smith was first stationed with Dr. Whitman, but the next year he opened a new station at Kamiah, 60 miles from Lapwai, among the Nez Perces, and Messrs. Walker and Eells likewise began another station among the Spokanes, at Tshimakain, six miles north of the Spokane River, in the spring of 1839.

The first few years of the mission were quite encouraging. Owing partly to the novelty, the Indians seemed very anxious to labor, to learn at school, and to receive religious instruction. In 1837, as soon as a school was opened at Lapwai, Mr. Spalding wrote that a hundred, both old and young, were in attendance. As soon as one had learned something more than the others, they would gather around him, while he would become their teacher. In 1839 one hundred and fifty children, and as many more adults, were in school. Similar interest was shown in religious instruction. They sometimes spent whole nights in repeating over and over what

they had but partly learned at a religious service. Two years later 1,000 to 2,000 gathered for religious instruction. Then 2,000 made a public confession of sin, and promised to serve God. Many of them evidently did so with imperfect ideas of what they were doing, yet not a few were believed to give evidence of conversion.

Among the Cayuses, also, more were ready to attend school than the mission family could supply with books, or had ability to teach. Morning and evening worship was maintained in all the principal lodges, and a confession of sin was made somewhat similar to that among the Nez Perces. For a time, when Dr. Whitman or Mr. Spalding traveled through the country, they were followed by hundreds of Indians, eager to see them and hear Bible truths at night. They had a strong desire for hoes and other agricultural implements, and were willing to part with any property they had, in order to obtain them, even bringing their rifles to be manufactured into such articles. From 80 to 100 families planted fields near Mr. Spalding, and many near Dr. Whitman raised enough provisions for a comfortable supply for their families.

In 1838 Mr. Spalding reported that his field produced 2,000 bushels of potatoes, besides wheat and other articles.

In the year 1841 a saw and grist mill were erected among the Nez Perces, and a grist mill among the Cayuses.

At Kamiah a large part of the Indians gave up their roving habits for a time, and remained most of the year at home, and the Spokanes received Messrs. Walker and Eells with gladness.

In 1837 a church was organized, and in September, 1838, the first Indian was received into it; though, in July previous, two Indian girls, who afterwards died in Mr. Spalding's family, gave evidence of conversion, and were baptized as the first fruits of the work.

In November, 1839, Joseph and Timothy, Nez Perces Indians, were admitted to the church. In 1840 Mr. Eells reported a school of eighty scholars.

In 1839 the mission received a donation from Rev. H. Bingham's church, at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, of a small printing press, with types, furniture, paper, and other things, of the value of $450. The same church had, the year before, sent eighty dollars in money and ten bushels of salt to the Oregon mission. Mr. E. O. Hall, a printer at the Sandwich Islands, on account of the health of his wife, came with the press, and the first book printed west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as known,

Mrs. M. F. Eells.

Rev. A. F. Waller.

Rev. D. Leslie.

Rev. E. Walker.

was issued that fall in the Nez Perces language. This added new interest to the school, and other books in the same language, and one in that of the Spokanes, followed. Mr. and Mrs. Hall remained until the spring of 1840, when they returned to the Sandwich Islands.

Not many years after the arrival of the missionaries, a traveler gave the following account of his experience with a Nez Perces guide, Creekie by name: After encamping at night, "the wife presented a dish of meat to her husband and one to myself. There was a pause. The woman seated herself between her children. The Indian then bowed his head and prayed to God. A wandering savage in Oregon calling on Jehovah in the name of Jesus Christ! After the prayer he gave meat to his children and passed the dish to his wife. While eating, the frequent repetition of the words Jehovah and Jesus Christ, in the most reverential manner, led me to suppose that they were conversing on religious topics, and thus they passed an hour. Meanwhile the exceeding weariness of the long day's travel admonished me to seek rest. I had slumbered, I know not how long, when a strain of music awoke me. The Indian family was engaged in its evening devotions. They were singing a hymn in the Nez Perces language. Having finished, they all knelt and

bowed their faces on the buffalo robe, and Creekie prayed long and fervently. Afterward they sung another hymn and retired. To hospitality, family affection and devotion, Creekie added cleanliness and honesty to a great degree, manifesting by these fruits, so contrary to the nature and habits of his race, the beautiful influence of the work of grace on the heart."*

But the novelty gradually wore off, and discouragements began. The natural heart naturally resisted the truths of the Bible, and some of the Spokane chiefs led in the opposition. In 1838 two Roman Catholic priests arrived, spoke against the missionaries, and persuaded some of the Cayuses to be baptized by them. Others afterwards came, established a mission among them, and one of the Roman Catholic Indians instigated some others of the tribe to treat Dr. Whitman and Mr. Gray with much insolence and abuse, to destroy some property, and to demand payment for the land, timber, fuel and water which had been used. But by moderation and firmness, and with the aid of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Indians afterwards admitted their guilt, and peace was apparently restored.

In 1841, Mr. Smith, after suffering no little annoyance from the savage manners of the Nez

* Century of Dishonour, pp. 106–7.

Perces, on account of the failure of his own and his wife's health, left that mission and Oregon, and joined the mission at the Sandwich Islands. He subsequently returned to the Eastern States. In his opinion the Indians were pharisaical, and desired to make money out of the missionaries.

About this time, the mission was visited by Captain Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Squadron, who spoke of Mr. Spalding as untiring in industry and perseverance, and succeeding as well as his fellows, but that the success among the Cayuses was very small.

By February, 1842, affairs seemed so discouraging that the Board of Missions concluded to give up the stations among the Cayuses and Nez Perces, and Rev. J. D. Paris and Mr. W. H. Rice, who had been sent to the mission by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, having reached the latter place, were induced to remain there temporarily, an arrangement which was afterwards made permanent by the Board at Boston.

The roving habits of the Indians, and the decrease in the attendance on the schools, increased the trials. Hence, Messrs. Spalding and Gray were to return East, and Dr. Whitman was to join the Spokane mission.

In the fall of 1842, however, affairs took a

more favorable turn: the Spokane Indians showed more thoughtfulness and conscientiousness; the school at Lapwai increased to an average of eighty, and afterwards to over 200; 1,000 Nez Perces attended a series of meetings for nine or ten days, seven of whom were examined for admission to the church; the Cayuse Sabbath congregations varied in the spring from 200 to 400, in the fall from 50 to 200, and less during the rest of the year. The two Nez Perces received into the church four years previous, and some others of whom hope was entertained, stood well as Christian workers; and there was abundant evidence that the truth was exerting a restraining influence over most of the Indians. Some of them were becoming more settled, so that 50 Cayuse and 150 Nez Perces families cultivated from a quarter of an acre to five acres each; one Nez Perces chief raised 176 bushels of peas, 100 of corn, and 300 of potatoes. Mrs. Spalding had taught a few of the Nez Perces women to knit, card, spin, and weave, and a large number to sew.

The Nez Perces, aided by Dr. E. White, first U. S. Indian Sub-Agent for Oregon, in 1843, organized a simple form of government, elected chiefs, and adopted a few laws. With this as a precedent, and by the aid of some of the Nez Perces, the Cayuses accomplished similar reforms.

Dr. White regarded the Nez Perces mission as the most promising in Oregon. "I was greatly surprised," he wrote, "in traveling through the Indian country, to find the outward forms of Christianity, prayer and singing, observed in nearly every lodge." And again, "Too much cannot be said in praise of the Presbyterian missions, for their efforts in behalf of the Indians, which are indefatigable."

It was also becoming evident that more Americans were soon to come into the territory, and they would need something other than Roman Catholic preaching.

All these things determined the missionaries, in the fall of 1842, to continue all the stations, notwithstanding the instructions received from the Board at Boston, until the matter could again be reconsidered.

These, and other considerations relating to the possession of the country, to which reference will afterwards be made, rendered it expedient, in the opinion of the mission, for Dr. Whitman to return East. He did so, leaving Walla Walla October 3rd, 1842, and reaching Boston, March 30th, 1843. He made such representations that the Board ratified the action of the mission, in continuing all the stations. After transacting important business at Washington, and visiting his friends, he returned

to Oregon. He left the western frontiers of Missouri, May 31st, and after a short time overtook a company of about 875 emigrants, some of whom, when he was in the East, he had promised to aid, should they determine to go to Oregon. This journey was successfully made, and the first train of emigrant wagons rolled through to the Columbia River.

Mr. and Mrs. Gray were, at their own request, dismissed from the mission in the spring of 1843, that he might become General Superintendent and secular agent of the Oregon Institute at Salem. A teacher was employed at Lapwai, and the congregation continued much as before. The novelty, however, of working for themselves was gone, while at the same time the Roman Catholic teachers, and others opposed to the mission, told the Indians that the missionaries ought to furnish them with food and clothing; so that while more was done to assist the Indians, there was more jealousy and fault-finding in 1844 than there had previously been. The increasing number of emigrants also awakened fears among the Indians of finally losing their country, and caused additional dissatisfaction.

But yet the work of the missionaries was not without its beneficent effects upon the hearts of the Indians, so that at least some of them ap-

preciated their labors; for in February, 1843, when Mrs. Spalding was so sick that it was feared she would die, a Nez Perces chief said: "If it could be, I would gladly die in her stead that she might live to teach the people."

In May, 1843, nine Nez Perces were received into the church—four men and five women; and twenty-five or thirty others, it was expected, would be received in a few weeks thereafter, but there is no record to show that this was done. Two prayer-meetings were then sustained, and 200 were in the Sabbath-school.

In June, 1844, ten more were approved for church fellowship. During these years the work at the other stations went on much as before, with comparatively little of unusual interest. The Spokanes did not engage in agriculture with as much zeal as the other tribes, owing mainly to the poorness of the soil, and the coldness of the climate.

From this time until near the close of the mission there was but little change. It was reported as slow, up-hill work, yet the Indians seemed to be slowly advancing in the knowledge of christian truth, and manifested growing confidence in their teachers.

In June, 1847, the Methodist Episcopal church, which had given up all their other Indian work in Oregon, transferred their station at the

Dalles to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and Messrs. Perrin Whitman and A. Hinman were appointed by the mission to take temporary charge of it. In the spring of 1847, some of the Nez Perces Indians annoyed Mr. Spalding in such a way as to prove fatal to his usefulness for a time, but as the season advanced a more friendly feeling was shown, the chiefs professing to deplore the conduct of the "infidel party," and earnestly desiring Mr. Spalding to remain with them. Dr. Whitman had some misgivings as to his safety, in regard to which he consulted with Dr. John McLaughlin, and in the spring of 1847 urged Hon. J. Q. Thornton to go to Washington to urge the establishment of a territorial government, as the only means of saving his mission from the murderous hands of the savages: yet on the whole he thought that affairs were favorable, and gave promise of continued prosperity, so that he was preparing to erect a church and other buildings. He also wrote letters earnestly requesting the American Home Missionary Society and the American Tract Society to occupy the field, without delay; and in April, 1847, Mrs. Eells wrote: "We feel that as a mission our prospects were never more encouraging."

Such was the state of affairs when suddenly,

Nov. 29th, 1847, Dr. Whitman and wife, Mr. Rogers, an assistant missionary, and six others, chiefly immigrants, were massacred by the Cayuses, at Walla Walla, and a short time afterwards other five. Dr. Whitman was engaged in reading, when an Indian, to divert his attention, solicited some medicine. Another then came behind him and struck him on the head with a tomahawk, and a second blow rendered him lifeless. Mrs. Whitman and Mr. Rogers fled up-stairs, where she received a wound in the breast. By the earnest request of the Indians, and on promise of protection, they came down, but were quickly shot. Mrs. Whitman died immediately, her last words being, "Tell my mother for me that I died at my post." The last prayer she is known to have offered was after she was first shot, when she prayed for her adopted children, now again to be left orphans, and for her aged father and mother in the States, that they might be sustained under the shock which the news of her fate must occasion. Mr. Rogers lingered for a long time, the last words he was heard to say being, "Lord Jesus, come quickly."*

* Marcus Whitman, M.D., was born Sept. 4, 1802, at Rushville, N. Y., and was married, February, 1836, to Narcissa Prentiss, daughter of Hon. Stephen Prentiss. She was born at Prattsburg, New York, March 14, 1808.

A few whites escaped, but the others, mostly immigrants, forty-seven in number, were taken captive, and held as such by the Indians, until they were ransomed through the efforts of P. S. Ogden, a Chief Factor and Associate Superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company, about a month later. At the time of the massacre he was at Vancouver, but on hearing of it he proceeded immediately to Walla Walla, where, by judicious management, he succeeded in securing the release of the captives. Fifty blankets and a large amount of other property were paid to the Cayuses for them. It has been said without dispute that there was probably not another man who could have succeeded in this work as he did.

Mr. Spalding, at the time of the massacre, was at the Umatilla, about forty miles distant, and did not learn of it until he was within about three miles of the mission station, when he met a Catholic priest, who informed him, whereupon he turned and fled, by a circuitous route, towards his own station. He was pursued by an Indian who intended to kill him; but by traveling over night, and hiding in the day time, he managed to escape, though at one time the Indian was within a few yards of him. The second night his horse left him and he had to travel on foot. His boots so hurt his feet

that he had to cast them off, and he had no food except such as he could find on the way. Thus he traveled near 120 miles, and it was not till the seventh night he reached home, in great physical suffering, much to the relief of his wife, who supposed he had been killed. He found his premises had been plundered by hostile Nez Perces, but his wife protected by friendly chiefs of the same tribe.

When Mr. Ogden rescued the captives, he also sent word to the Nez Perces to deliver up Mr. Spalding and the other whites at that place. They immediately did so, and conducted them to Fort Walla Walla (now Wallula), receiving therefor twelve blankets and other property. The party of ransomed captives, numbering sixty, were then taken to Oregon City, the capital of the territory, where they arrived January 12th, 1848, and were formally delivered to the governor, receiving a salute from three guns, and a hearty welcome from the citizens.

Oregon volunteers, under Colonel C. Gilliam, proceeded from the Willamette valley as rapidly as possible to chastise the Indians; a battle was fought near the Umatilla River, in which the Indians were routed, and the volunteers marched to Walla Walla and beyond Snake River, but failed to secure the murderers.

Messrs. Walker and Eells remained at their station until March, 1848, when rumors of danger, of which there had been more or less all winter, became so startling that they accepted an offer made by Chief Factor Lewes, to remove to Fort Colville, about seventy miles further north. After the volunteers had done all they were able to do with the Cayuses, the question arose, shall those two mission families be left among the Spokanes? Col. Lee addressed his regiment in regard to it, and requested an expression of their opinion. No verbal response was made, but sixty of them offered to go and escort the families to the Willamette valley. They immediately went north, were met by the families near their station, which was abandoned June 3d, and on the twenty-second of the same month all reached Oregon City, except Mr. Eells, who, in company with a portion of the volunteers, crossed the Cascade Mountains with the animals and arrived two days later.

Col. H. A. G. Lee, as military commander, then declared the country east of the Cascades closed to all missionaries, owing to his inability to protect them, and all hope of resuming the missions was abandoned, except the one among the Spokanes. Messrs. Eells and Walker did not formally sever their connection with

the Board until 1853, but after waiting until that time, it seemed unwise to begin again, although the Spokane Indians regretted their departure, and in 1851 a large party of them traveled 450 miles to Oregon City, to request the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to furnish them with teachers.

The Mission Board offered Mr. Eells a position in the mission at the Sandwich Islands, but he preferred to remain in Oregon. January 7th, 1851, Mrs. Spalding died, owing, as her husband believed, to exposure and hardships connected with the massacre.

Gen. Joseph Lane was in 1848 appointed governor of Oregon, where he arrived in 1849. He immediately proceeded to secure the murderers of Dr. Whitman and associates. With the help of a United States regiment, and the Hudson's Bay Company, especially Dr. John McLaughlin, he succeeded in having five of the murderers surrendered, who, in May, 1850, were tried at Oregon City, found guilty and hung.

The causes of this massacre have been widely discussed. Probably the immediate cause was that the immigrants brought the measles and other diseases into the country, which the Indians caught, and which, greatly aggravated by their imprudence, carried off a large number of them. Some pretended that Dr. Whitman was giving them poison, while others expressed

their unabated confidence in him. To test the case it is said that three persons who were sick were selected, and he was asked to give them some medicine. Having done so, it is also said they all died, and that this so incensed the Indians that they began the work of death immediately. There are many, too, who believe that the real cause, though a little more remote, was that the Indians were instigated to these acts by the Roman Catholics, who had established a mission near by. Among such persons are H. H. Spalding, J. S. Griffin, W. H. Gray, and C. Eells.

Mrs. F. F. Victor, too, in her River of the West (chapter 36) says: "Certain it is that they (the Roman Catholic priests) preserved a neutral position, when to be neutral was to seem, if not to be, devoid of human sympathies. . . . It was quite natural that the Protestants should wonder at the immunity from danger which the priests enjoyed, and that, not clearly seeing the reason, they should suspect them of collusion with the Indians. It was natural, too, that the sufferers from the massacre should look for some expression of sympathy from any and all denominations of Christians, and that, not receiving it, they should have doubts of the motives which prompted such reserve."

The following questions in regard to certain

facts may at least be asked, and although there have been attempts made by the Catholics to answer them, yet until they are answered more satisfactorily than hitherto, the wonders and doubts hinted at by Mrs. Victor will still exist among a large class of unprejudiced Protestants.

Why was it that Bishop Brouillet baptized some of the children of the murderers, on the field of carnage, and with perfect safety, before the victims were even buried? Why did Mr. McBean, a Catholic, then in charge of Fort Walla Walla, refuse admittance to Mr. Hall, who had escaped from the massacre and reached that fort on foot, and order him to put across the Columbia River, afoot and alone, without food, thus to make the journey to the Dalles, 125 miles distant? He either perished or was killed by the Indians, as he was never heard of afterwards. Why did he shortly afterwards refuse admittance to Mr. Osborne, another refugee from the massacre, until he said "I will die at your doors unless you allow me to come in"? Why did he, when he wrote to Governor Ogden at Fort Vancouver, informing him of the sad event, fail to write to Mr. Hinman, then in charge of the newly bought mission station at the Dalles? On the other hand, why did he strictly charge the messenger as he should pass through the Dalles not to say anything about it, although he wrote Governor Ogden that the

Indians reported that a party was starting, or about to start, for the purpose of cutting off the whites at the Dalles. Mr. Hinman left the station and his family unprotected, and went down the Columbia River to Vancouver with the messsenger, and did not learn of the massacre until he was part way down the river. In contrast with this, Mr. Ogden hastened quickly to rescue the captives, and Mr. Lewes, of Fort Colville, welcomed Messrs. Walker and Eells to his fort, when he believed there was danger. Both of these gentlemen were in the employ of the same Hudson's Bay Company. Why did the Roman Catholic priest at the Umatilla refuse any assistance or words of comfort to Miss Bewley, one of the captives, who had been taken to his station and given to an Indian chief as his wife, although she pleaded with the priest night after night, that he would use his influence to prevent her being taken each night to the lodge of the Indian? These questions, arising out of the facts on which they are based, demand answers. But enough. Thus closed both missions : one, it might be said, died a natural death, and the other was killed. At first sight they seemed to be a failure, but a longer view of the arc of the cycle of God's providence reveals a different result. Seed was sown which has produced fruit for other Indians and whites, as we shall see.

CHAPTER II.

LATER MISSIONS—NEZ PERCES—CAYUSES—SPOKANES—YAKAMAS.

"Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days."—*Eccl.* 11: 1.

EXPERIENCE proves that time is required to change the Indian. In 1835 missionaries first began work among the Sioux, but no great success attended their labors until about 1862–3. This is due to three causes: 1, the native depravity and ignorance of the Indians; 2, the influence of a certain class of low whites who are generally on the frontier; and 3, the unwise and unjust dealings of government. Experience also shows that continued labor among them is successful; and as a rule the oldest missions are by far the most successful, and the success seems to increase in proportion to the time occupied, not in an arithmetical, but in a geometrical progression; not by addition of numbers, but by multiplication of them.

Those who favor the christianization of the Indians rather than their extermination, and those who favor their civilization, with chris-

tianity as the centre and root of it, in preference to their civilization by labor, with christianity and the Bible to come afterwards, if at all, are sometimes said to be only eastern humanitarians, who know but little, if anything, about Indians. It is not true. There are very few, if any, who favor the christian modes more than the missionaries; and there are very few, if any, who come more closely in contact with the Indians, or see a darker or more discouraging side to the work of christianizing them, than these same men.

In 1835 the missionaries went among the Sioux. In 1862 they saw many of those Sioux among whom they had labored rise and engage in one of the most terrible massacres, probably, that America has ever witnessed. Were they discouraged? No. They believed the Bible too firmly. They went to those Sioux in their prisons the next winter, where they preached to them, and in a few weeks were rewarded by seeing about three hundred hopefully converted, and witness a profession which some honored during their lives and many of them have honored until the present time.

The same has been true on the Pacific coast. In 1836 Mr. Spalding and wife began work among the Nez Perces. In November, 1839, Joseph and Timothy were admitted to the

church. Timothy ever afterwards honored his profession, but in 1847 Joseph was one of the leaders of those who pillaged the house and destroyed the mission premises. Were they discouraged? No; they waited patiently for the doors to re-open, so as again to enter their field, and eleven years afterwards Mr. Spalding returned, and had the joy of baptizing several hundred of them before his death, in 1874. The old men do not tire now of talking of his instruction.

In 1838 Rev. E. Walker and C. Eells went among the Spokane Indians. In 1847 Mrs. Eells wrote: "I think that the long dreary winters, together with the thought that they do not attain the object for which they were sent," namely, the conversion of the Indians, "have much to do in impairing the general health, and greatly depressing the spirits." In 1848, when the mission was broken up, although the Indians were very kind, yet not one of them gave sufficient evidence of conversion to be received into the church. They might have been discouraged, but they were not. In 1875 Mr. Eells sat with 54 of them around the Lord's Table, and said that if one-quarter or even one-eighth of the more than 200 who had been baptized were real christians, he was more than repaid for all his labors, and he advised a

young missionary not to be discouraged, because he believed that christian work among the Indians was fully as successful as among the whites, if not more so.

Dr. Whitman commenced labor among the Cayuses in 1838. He received very few into the church during his life, and alas, one of them was an actor in the horrible scene of his massacre. Another Indian, who held one of the captives as his wife, was careful to have morning and evening prayer, and to read a portion of Scripture. Yet Dr. Whitman's companions were ready, as soon as Providence opened the way, to resume work among the Indians, and old Is-tik-us, a Cayuse chief, as long as he lived, lived as a christian.

In 1838 Rev. H. K. W. Perkins and D. Lee established the mission at the Dalles. After a time there was a great revival and a thousand Indians were supposed to be converted. Some time after a doubt was expressed in regard to their conversion, and the opinion given that it was only an outward change in order to obtain presents. Mr. Perkins thought not, and named one whom he believed to be soundly converted. But soon Mr. Lee, his companion, came in and said: "What kind of a proposition do you think —— made me?" naming the Indian just referred to. "He says he will pray a

whole year if I will give him a shirt and a capote" (a loose coat). In 1847 the mission was sold, and the next year some of the Indians joined the Cayuses in the war against the whites. But according to the report of the Methodist Board of Missions for 1857, one of the Klikitat Indians kept a Testament given to him by Mr. Perkins, as of great value, and occasionally preached to the other Indians. In 1870, Billy Chinook and John Mission had not forgotten the instruction which they had received at the Dalles, and acknowledged the vows then taken, and were taking a leading part in the progress of their tribe towards christianity. The seed then sown is now seen growing and ripening under Captain John Smith at the Warm Springs Agency.

The first period of American intercourse with the Indians in a christian way closed in 1848, as related in the previous chapter, and was wholly disconnected from the Government, but the second period has a large connection with it. It really began in 1842, when Dr. E. White was appointed the first Indian Sub-Agent, but little was done with the Indians until 1855. After the Cayuse war in 1848, owing to the sparseness of the population in the country, especially east of the Cascade Mountains, the Government of Oregon felt too weak to protect citizens in that

part of the country, and by official proclamation it was closed to white settlers. In 1855, Governor I. I. Stevens and others, under authority from our Government, made treaties with the greater portion of the tribes in Oregon and Washington, and they were assigned to the various reservations. But the work was scarcely finished before the Yakama war occurred. At the close of this, the tribes went on to their reservations, and by 1859 the treaties began to be fulfilled on the part of Government. Up till this time, however, the officials connected with the Indian department were mostly politicians, appointed as a reward for political services, and not on account of their fitness for the office, their honesty, or christianity, or with much view to benefit the Indians. This method continued until 1871, with the exception of about a year in 1870, when the military had charge.

When General Grant became President, he was so well satisfied with the failure of this policy to benefit the Indians, that he determined to adopt another, which has been called the Peace policy. This began the third period. The plan was to assign different agencies to the missionary societies of the various religious bodies, with the request that they would nominate Agents, who should be honest, faithful, capable

christian men. While it was not the intention of the Government to perform missionary labor, it was hoped that suitable men would be secured for the positions, and also that the missionary societies would see that the Government was willing to encourage christian work among the Indians. These various tribes will now be considered.

Nez Perces and Cayuses. After Mr. Spalding left the Nez Perces, there was no white man to teach them for many years; yet frequent accounts came from immigrants who passed through the country, Indian agents, and traders residing there, and General Joel Palmer and others who attended the council at Walla Walla in 1855, when the treaty was made. All reports agreed that two or three lodges of the Cayuses, numbering about 45 persons, and about one-third of the 3,000 Nez Perces, had kept up regular family and public worship. They sang from the Nez Perce Hymn Book, and read in their own language the gospel according to Matthew, which had been furnished them by Mr. Spalding before the mission closed. Many of them showed surprising evidences of piety, especially Timothy, who was their regular and faithful preacher during all those years; and many of them kept up their knowledge of reading and writing so well, that they

took notes at the council, and made copies of the treaties and speeches, eight years after the mission closed. The Nez Perces and Protestant portion of the Cayuses were the chief agents in securing a peaceful council and the treaty. At that time they also expressed a strong desire that religious teachers should again be sent among them.

Then followed the Yakama war in 1855—6, in which these Indians remained faithful to the whites, after which the Nez Perces went to their reservation and the Cayuses and others to the Umatilla reservation.

No further Protestant work was ever undertaken among the now extinct Cayuses, who, as a tribe, were never very numerous ; though they were wealthy, and, owing to this and their character, were powerful. Old Is-tik-us, one of their chiefs, as long as he lived, is said to have rung his bell on the Sabbath and called his band together to worship God. Says the Hon. J. W. Nesmith of him: He was "the only Indian I ever saw that I thought had any conception of and practiced the christian religion."

In 1859, by military proclamation, the country east of the Cascade Mountains was opened for white settlements. Soon after Rev. H. H. Spalding, who had for twelve years been anxiously waiting and watching for an opportunity

to return to his work, went back to the Nez Perces. He did so with the advice of the Congregational Association and by the resolution of the Presbytery of Oregon.

In regard to this event, Mr. J. W. Anderson, Indian Agent for that tribe at that time, wrote as follows: "Although Mr. Spalding had been absent from the tribe many years, yet they retained all the forms of worship which had been taught them. Many of them have prayers night and morning in their lodges. Not having any suitable school-house, I permitted Mr. Spalding to open his school in my office shortly after his arrival, and from that time till he was compelled to discontinue the school from severe sickness, the school was crowded, not only with children, but with old men and women, some of whom were compelled to use glasses to assist the sight. Some of the old men would remain until bed-time engaged in transcribing into their language portions of Scripture translated by Mr. Spalding."

Hon. Alexander Smith, Judge of the first judicial district of Idaho, also wrote an interesting account of services held by Mr. Spalding at Lewiston, which was published in the *San Francisco Pacific*, February 6th, 1864. He said: "On Sunday last I had the pleasure of attending church at this place, conducted in Nez

Perce by Rev. H. H. Spalding. The Governor, federal and county officers, and citizens of Lewiston were mostly present. The scene was deeply solemn and interesting; the breathless silence, the earnest, devout attention of that great congregation (even the small children) to the words of their much loved pastor; the spirit, the sweet melody of their singing; the readiness with which they turned to hymns and chapters, and read with Mr. Spalding the lessons from their Testaments which Mr. Spalding had translated and printed twenty years before; the earnest, pathetic voice of the native christians whom Mr. Spalding called upon to pray—all, all deeply and solemnly impressed that large congregation of white spectators, even to tears. It were better a thousand times over, if Government would do away with its policy that is so insufficiently carried out, and only lend its aid to a few such men as Mr. Spalding, whose whole heart is in the business, who has but one desire, to civilize and christianize the Indians."

But governmental policy and officers, the Indian ring, and others, did not long allow Mr. Spalding to remain on the reservation. Some of the time he was on the outskirts, some of the time in the Walla Walla region, and sometimes elsewhere; yet all of the time he was

aiming to do one thing, notwithstanding the opposition of those who so often defeated him. It was not, however, until he went in person to Washington, in the winter of 1870–71, that he obtained an order freely to return to his field. He re-entered it in the fall of 1871, and for three years he worked with unabating zeal, and during this time he was allowed to gather in the harvest.

When the agencies were assigned to the various religious bodies in 1871, this one was transferred with cordiality by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Presbyterian Board, which sent some other workers into the field, so that Mr. Spalding was not alone. Rev. H. T. Cowley and wife went there in August, 1871, and remained till July, 1872; and Rev. R. N. Fee and wife aided in the work for a time, as did also native christians from the Yakama reservation. Some years previous to 1871, a band of these Yakama Indians had visited the Nez Perces, with their native preacher. Thomas Pearne and a number of the Nez Perces had professed conversion; young Timothy, a son of old Timothy, being among the number. A letter written by Mr. Spalding in 1872, gives an account of another visit of these Yakama Indians to their Nez Perces brethren. He says: "The

delegation of christians from Brother Wilbur's native church at Simcoe consisted of the head chief, every way a gentleman, an eloquent speaker, and most earnestly devoted to his Master's work; Rev. George Waters . . . . and thirteen others who were all earnest in the noble work which they had undertaken. The object of their work and mission was purely religious, and their arrival was most timely. I met them at Halapawawi, in the western part of the nation, and at once commenced a series of meetings, which continued for twenty-one days, changing to three different places, one hundred miles apart. Probably one hundred Nez Perces accompanied us from Halapawawi and Lapwai to Kamiah, and probably a hundred more returned with us from Kamiah. Two boys from the school walked seventy-five miles, so hungering were they for the word of God. Many mothers carried their infants strung to their saddles, and a young child behind. I never saw anything like it among us whiteskins. Brother Waters did most of the preaching, speaking every day, often three times a day. Two days we were on our feet seven hours each day, with but fifteen minutes intermission."

In addition to the Rev. H. T. Cowley and wife, Mr. Spalding had about eight Indian as-

sistants, on whom he greatly depended. Mr. Spalding also wrote: "It is hard work to ride horseback, and lie on the ground with the Indians, but it is healthy; and, oh! what prayers in class reservation meeting, almost every night on the route. . . . Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia, has sent me a good tent and equipage, which adds to my traveling comforts."

The next year, at the request of the Spokanes, he visited and baptized a number, and also more of the Nez Perces. The whole number of the latter tribe which he baptized during the last three years of his life was 694. It was to be expected that, amid so much excitement, many would be received whom it would be necessary to sift out. This has been done, as we shall see hereafter. Notwithstanding, a great work was accomplished by him.

About this time Rev. S. N. D. Martin, formerly of the Chinese mission, went to Mr. Spalding's assistance; and Rev. George Ainslie and Miss S. L. McBeth, formerly of the Choctaw mission, who were employed as teachers by government at Lapwai and Kamiah, also served as missionaries. The latter, who arrived in October, 1873, has remained to the present time.

Thus Mr. Spalding continued in labor until his last illness, when he laid himself down to

die at Lapwai, among those for whose benefit he had spent the best part of his life, and was transferred to his reward, August 3rd, 1874, at the age of nearly 71. He was born November 26th, 1803, in Steuben County, New York, graduated at the Western Reserve College, Ohio, 1833, and studied theology at Lane Seminary, Ohio.

"Perhaps," says the *Oregonian* of August 22d, 1874, "it is to his influence more than to any other single cause, that the Nez Perces are indebted for the distinction they enjoy of being regarded as the most intelligent and the least savage of all our Indian tribes. Amid the grateful remembrance of those who came in after him to enjoy the blessings his sacrifices purchased, he rests from his labors, and his works do follow him."

Rev. W. J. Monteith, father of the Agent, while making his home with his son for the last few years of his life, became greatly interested in the tribe, and gave his services to them, as he was able, until his death, August 31st, 1876. In May, 1877, Rev. J. R. Thompson, of Olympia, Washington Territory, visited the reservation, and received 30 persons into the reservation church.

During all of this time Miss McBeth continued her labors as teacher, translator of the

Bible, and theological professor at Kamiah. The following is an account of a visit to her by General O. O. Howard, in the Chicago *Advance* of June 14th, 1877:

"In a small house having two or three rooms I found Miss McBeth living by herself. She is such an invalid from partial paralysis, that she cannot walk from house to house, so I was sure to find her at home. The candle gave us a dim light, so that I could scarcely make out how she looked as she gave me her hand, and welcomed me to Kamiah. The next time I saw her by day, showed me a pale intellectual face, above a slight frame. How could this face and frame seek this far-off region? Little by little the mystery is solved. Her soul has been fully consecrated to Christ, and He has, as she believes, sent her upon a special mission to the Indians. Her work seems simple, just like the Master's in some respects. For example, she gathers her disciples around her, a few at a time, and having herself learned their language, so as to understand them, and speak passably, she instructs them and makes teachers of these disciples. There is the lounge and the chair, there the cook stove and the table, there, in another room, the little cabinet organ, and a few benches. So is everything about this little teacher, the simplest in style and work. The

only Nez Perces books thus far are the Gospel of Matthew, translated by Mr. Spalding, and the Gospel of John, by James Reuben, the Indian assistant teacher, who was aided in the translation by Rev. Mr. Ainslie. It is evident these must be largely used in this work of instruction. I hear that the Indian Department is afraid that Miss McBeth is teaching theology, and order her back to the rudiments. Certainly not theology in the way of "isms" of any kind, I am ready to affirm. I told her to call it *theophily*, if a high sounding name was needed for God's love. For as Jonah, the Sub-Chief, brokenly said, 'It makes Indians stop buying and selling wives; stop gambling and horse racing for money; stop getting drunk and running about; stop *all time lazy, and make them all time work.*' It is filling this charming little village with houses, and though she cannot visit them, her pupils' houses are becoming neat and cleanly. The wife is becoming industrious within doors, sews, knits and cooks. The fences are up, the fields are planted. Oh, that men could see that this faithful teaching has the speedy effect to change the heart of the individual man; then all the fruits of civilization begin to follow."

Some of her class were looking forward to the ministry, and in June, 1877, three of them,

Robert Williams, James Hines and Archie Lawyer, visited Portland, Oregon, and Puget Sound —the first time they had seen a town of more than 1,500 people. During their stay in Portland they were examined by a committee appointed by the Oregon Presbytery and licensed to preach. They made short addresses at Portland and Olympia, W. T., were well received by those they met, and received some flattering notices from the press.

Their visit to Oregon was also very beneficial to their people, as they carried back information which was received with more credence than when told them by the whites. They were able to converse in English, translate English into Nez Perce, and Nez Perce into English, and write in both languages.

After this came the war with Joseph and his band, in which some of them aided our troops very materially, as recorded in Chapter VI, after which they settled into regular christian work.

Robert Williams, who afterwards was ordained, has charge of the church at Kamiah, which numbers over 200 members. "He alone," writes Miss McBeth, "I count ample reward for five years of isolation. He is a born pastor, as well as successful preacher, and his people love him much and trust him." In 1880 the members of

his church raised $125, with which a three-hundred pound bell was purchased for their church, and they also contributed $100 to their pastor's salary.

James Hines has a small congregation of his own people, on the north fork of the Clearwater.

Archie Lawyer, together with James Reuben and Mark Williams, left their homes and went to the Indian Territory, as missionaries to Joseph's band, who had been sent there after the war. The first went to preach to the Indians, the second as school teacher, and the third as his assistant, and also as teacher of agriculture and civil government. The latter plays well on the cabinet organ, and is a good singer. All were employed by Government. After remaining a time, Archie Lawyer and Mark Williams were obliged to return to their homes, on account of long-continued ill health, chills and the like, but James Reuben still continues, with good results; the Sabbath being well observed; the school kept in successful operation; and a good share of the band drawn away from the influence of the medicine men, and a church organized.

A committee appointed by the Presbytery of Emporia, to visit the Nez Perces Indians in the Indian Territory, organized there the Pres-

byterian church of Oakland, with 93 members. On October 21st, 1880, Rev. S. B. Fleming baptized 59 of them, and on Sabbath, November 7th, 34 more, and ordained three elders.

Miss McBeth gathered a second class of nine young men, who were studying in order to become teachers and preachers. Most of these, like the first class, were married and were supporting themselves and their families by their work, while studying. The work was strengthened by the addition of Miss Kate C. McBeth, as teacher of the women, who not only imparts a knowledge of books, but also that knowledge which makes a wife a true help-meet for her husband. Both are now under commission from the Presbyterian Women's Board of Missions.

About the latter part of 1878, Rev. G. L. Deffenbaugh was sent by the same Board to take charge of the whole christian work in the tribe. Since that time he has managed affairs with a clear head and an even hand.

When Father Spalding worked among them during the few years previous to his death, although he baptized nearly 700, yet he organized no formal church. As there has been some excitement in his work, a "weeding out" process was necessary. When this had been accomplished, after Mr. Deffenbaugh's arrival, two churches were formed; one at Lapwai, with a

membership of 100, and the other at Kamiah, numbering 203 members. By September, 1880, 75 more were added, making a total membership of 378 in the tribe, having two church buildings.

The scholars have varied in numbers from being merely in a school on paper in 1871, to 124 in 1872; 48 in 1878; and 34 in 1880; the decrease during the last year being accounted for in a great measure by the burning of the schoolhouse at Lapwai. At first it was conducted by Mr. Spalding in the native language of the Indians, but during most of the time since the establishment of the agency it, as all other Government schools on the Pacific Coast among the Indians, has been taught in English, so that 110 of them can read. The school has been in charge of Mr. P. B. Whitman, a nephew of Dr. M. Whitman, who has been in the country 37 years, a large portion of the time being among the Indians.

The amount raised by farming has also varied at different times. In 1847, when the first mission was broken up, the wheat harvested was counted by thousands of bushels. During 1861, 1862 and 1863, while the mining excitement of Orofino, Florence, and other camps near them, was at its height, they furnished a large amount of produce and vegetables to the miners. In

1871, 2,807 Indians were reported as cultivating 1,055 acres, and raising nearly 20,000 bushels of wheat, corn, oats, and potatoes, and owning 9,000 horses, and 1,250 cattle. In 1880, while the number of Indians reported was only 1,208, yet the acreage had increased to 3,780, more than 600 being broken during that year, and about 48,500 bushels of grain and vegetables raised. The horses and mules had increased to about 13,000, and the cattle to 3,780.

Further, they have also about 3,000 fruit trees growing on the reservation, and some nurseries; that of one Indian containing 2,000 small trees. Ninety per cent. of their subsistence is gained from civilized pursuits, and more than two-thirds of them clothe in citizens' dress.

The decrease in the number of Indians during that period is in a great measure due to the removal of Joseph's band to the Indian territory, and to the fact that some who were wanderers, and some who had entered land for a homestead, and others, numbering 500 in all, were off the reservation.

The Spokanes.—These Indians live in northeastern Washington, and number about 685 persons. The early mission among them was closed in June, 1848, with no Indian as a member of the church. It was discouraging. In

October, 1847, Mrs. Eells wrote: "We have been here almost nine years, and have not been permitted to hear the cries of one penitent, or the songs of one redeemed soul. We often ask ourselves the question, Why is it? Yet we labor on, hoping and waiting, and expecting that the seed, though long buried, will spring up and bear fruit. We feel increasingly interested in the work, and though we do not see the immediate fruit of our labor, we cannot find it in our hearts to leave our people. We cannot say that they have persecuted us, so that we should be authorized 'to flee to another city.' They listen to the word respectfully, but it appears to produce no saving effect."

Facts afterwards seemed, however, to say that, although none were members of the visible church, some were members of the invisible one.

In 1851 some of them made a journey of about 400 miles to Oregon City, to ask for their teachers to return. About 1855, a company of men went from near Mr. Eells' residence to the Colville mines, and in doing so it was necessary to pass through the Spokane country. When they reached the Spokane River, they had no means of crossing, but having found some of these Indians near by, their help was asked. When the Indians learned that the men were aquainted with Mr. Eells they were glad

to aid all they could; indeed, it seemed as if they could not do too much for their white friends. When they were across the river it was time for a meal, and when it was ready the whites asked the chief to eat with them, as he had been of such service to them. The chief waited before beginning and looked as if he expected something. The white men looked at him, but could not comprehend what was wanted, and after a little of this singular looking at each other the whites began to eat. The chief then bowed his head and asked a blessing. This was what he had been looking and waiting for. The white men, in relating it to Mr. Eells afterwards, said: "Those Indians made us ashamed of ourselves—they were better christians than we were."

In 1855–56 the Yakama war occurred, in which that band among whom missionary labor had been spent took no part, as related in Chapter VI.

In 1859, as soon as the country east of the Cascades was declared open for settlement, Mr. Eells visited Walla Walla, which is about 150 miles south of his former station. The next year he moved there, where he remained until 1872. During all those years he received frequent visits from these Indians, who came to him to obtain more instruction. In 1862 he

spent a Sabbath among them and then they talked well. Some of them came fifty miles to hear him.

During several seasons a number of them went to Walla Walla to work, in order that they might receive more religious instruction. When there, many of them attended the Congregational Church, for although they could not understand the English language, yet they said: "We like to be here, because it is God's house, and we know that God is being talked about and worshiped." After church Mr. Eells regularly met a Bible-class of them in the Sabbath-school, where they received instruction and sang in their own language a hymn which Mr. Eells had prepared for them about 20 years previous.

When the peace policy was adopted in 1871, these Indians were put in charge of the Colville Agency, though they were not removed to the reservation. This agency was assigned to the Catholics. The majority of the Indians connected with it belonged to that church. Some years previous to this, a Catholic mission was established about forty miles above the old mission station at Tshimakain, and a number of converts were made to their faith. But the Protestant portion would not accept the Catholic teachings; and as an Indian in his

ignorance cannot be conservative, the feeling between the two factions is said to have been about as bitter as between Orangemen and Ribbonmen, and for a time trouble was apprehended between them.

In 1872, Mr. Eells house was burned at Walla Walla, and he removed to the residence of his son on Puget Sound, out of their reach. As they now despaired of getting any more instruction from him, and as the Catholic pressure was very strong, the Protestant portion sent deputations to Mr. Spalding, then among the Nez Perces, to go and preach to them. He accepted the invitation, and in 1874 visited them, and without organizing any church, he baptized 253. Over 100 more were baptized after his death.

In the summer of 1874 Mr. Spalding died, but so strong was the aversion of these Indians to the Catholic influence that they would not send their children to the agency school, hence the agent made application for a Protestant teacher to be furnished them. In answer to this request Rev. H. T. Cowley, who had been a teacher and missionary among the Nez Perces till July, 1872, went among them in 1874, where he has since resided.

The year after he went there the Indians built a house for him, and also a school-

house, without any assistance from Government. William Three Mountains, who, in the early history of the mission, more than 30 years previous, had been in Mr. Walker's family for two years, gave his whole crop of wheat for the year, his most important article of food, for the latter building.

Mr. Eells, as has been stated, moved out of their reach in 1872; they, however, were not out of his reach. When he heard of the remarkable work among them, he felt a desire again to visit them; hence in 1874 he spent a few months in a journey and visit, traveling for this purpose about a thousand miles on horseback, and crossing the Cascade Mountains twice.

The next year he made a somewhat similar journey, and spent six weeks with them, participating in twenty-four public religious services at five different places. "Generally," he says, in a report to the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington, in 1876, "the number present varied from 60 to 360. At a celebration of the Lord's Supper, there were 60 communicants; I made note of the propriety of language used in prayer. Mr. Cowley reports at a late communion service, 108 communicants. During the past winter a school of 40 scholars was taught; with diminishing num-

bers it was continued until April. They subsist much as they did 35 years ago, hence their migratory practices still continue, slightly changed. When food fails they move to new root grounds, and take their children with them."

No treaty has ever been made with these Indians, but in 1872 a reservation, which was large, and which embraced with them many other Indians, was established by an order from the President. The agency was, however, 60 miles from them, and consequently they have not received as much civilizing aid from it as they would have done had they been nearer. Their country, too, is not very suitable to agriculture; hence they have not progressed in this respect, as they would have done under more favorable circumstances.

The great difficulty of late with these Indians has been in regard to their land, as no treaty has been made with them, and they have received no equivalent for what they once possessed. Says Rev. H. T. Cowley, in a letter to the *Advance* of December 9th, 1880:

"In 1877 the Government sent a commission to locate them on a reservation. The council resulted unsatisfactorily to the Indians, and they yielded to discouragement and alienation from the Government, relaxed their efforts at self-

improvement, and in their disappointment and dejection fell an easy prey to the vile beings who stand ready, on the whole frontier, to drag the Indians down to their own level by vending them whisky.

"A second effort was made in 1879 to induce them to go upon one of the reservations in Eastern Washington. Gen. O. O. Howard and Gov. E. P. Ferry were appointed to the task of inducing them to unite with the famous "Chief Moses" in locating on a reservation which had just been granted him west of the Okinakin River. But the Spokanes simply saw in the proposal a plan of Moses to subjugate the minor chiefs and arrogate to himself the supreme chieftainship of the entire region. Several of Moses' Indians obtained whisky during the session of the council, and riotously proclaimed the Spokanes as the future slaves of their great chief. It is needless to say that matters were made worse. Still the Spokanes were unwilling to believe that some honorable provision would not be made for them by the Government.

"This year they have been visited by Col. H. Clay Wood as a special agent of the Interior Department to induce them to locate upon some reservation or take up land in severalty. The only inducements he could offer them were that on a reservation they would be compar-

atively exempt from the molestation of vicious whites, and farther out of the reach of whisky, and that in taking land under the Indian homestead act, they had the privilege of paying the land fees like white people. This also failed in the solution of the question.

"In the month of September, Gen. Howard, on the occasion of finding a suitable location for a new post in the Spokane country, accompanied by the writer and a scout, made a week's tour among their various camps, traveling about 150 miles. The object of the General was to show his solicitude for their welfare, and disabuse them of the impression that he sought to drive them from their country, or shed their blood." * *

A little later he adds: "In a former letter I sketched briefly the missionary efforts among the Spokane Indians, and some of the results and obstacles. I aimed to show that not only a feeble response had been made by church and Government, to their creditable efforts at self-improvement, but that they were directly checked and disheartened by the action of the Government on several occasions to force them on to a foreign reservation, without any prospect of provision for improvement or compensation for the territory they would have to relinquish. Still, though confused and indig-

nant, they are unwilling to believe that 'Washington,' as they style the Government, will countenance any injustice toward his red children. And so the majority have for the present abandoned their efforts at improvement, and trust that 'Washington' will yet get accurate knowledge of their sad condition and deal honorably with them. But a small number are too radical to wait. They have learned the proverbial tardiness of the Government and look only for Divine help. Actuated by christian principle, and accepting what the Government *has* done for them in the provisions of the Indian homestead law, they have withdrawn from the rest of the tribe and have located on farms, and are working out their own problem. The leader in this movement, a chief and eloquent preacher, is William Three Mountains. Although of feeble frame and consumptive, he is a man of remarkable faith and unceasing activity. With a following of only three families they separated themselves from their tribe, a very unpopular act under any circumstances, and put thirteen miles between them and the ancestral camping-grounds. This was nearly three years ago, and in the face of great hardships and no little persecution from their relatives and former friends, they have increased to fourteen families, and with some aid from the

Government, after hearing of their creditable enterprise, and under the superintendence of the writer, they have nearly completed a school-house with rather humble quarters for the teacher, besides several log dwellings, barns and root-houses for themselves. School is in session with fourteen scholars, and a prospect, as soon as the severity of the winter is over, of twenty-five or thirty more from the tribe, showing the weakening of the prejudice on their part against Three Mountains' movement, and their anxiety to have their children educated, as no inducements of food and clothing can yet be offered.

"The religious meetings are faithfully attended by every man, woman and child who can leave their dwellings. Twenty-three were in attendance at prayer-meeting this bitterly cold evening, one coming on foot nearly three miles through two feet of snow, and nearly all took part."

There is another colony of the lower Spokanes about ten miles west of Walker's prairie, under the charge of Lot. The patriarch Ah-ma-mel'-a-kin is their preacher. To themselves they are gratifyingly successful, and in the estimation of others they are worthy of encouragement. They have over 1,000 acres under fence. Says Rev. C. Eells in 1880: "Limited

assistance has been afforded them. One old Indian said to me: 'I purchased my plow.' About dark his son came from the harvest field. He said: 'I am tired. It is good to be tired.' He evidently was pleased to become weary in such employment. At two different times during the early autumn [of 1879] I was at that place. Work in the erection of a church building was progressing. I met Ah-ma-mel'-a-kin going to timber with horse and harness to haul material with which to forward the building."

Owing to their scattered condition, and lack of a missionary who could go to all their various settlements, they have not progressed in religion, during the last few years, as could have been hoped. Some who have been baptized, have partially re-adopted their old religion, and yet, as Rev. C. Eells says, in closing his centennial sketch of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on this north-west coast: "The earlier and the latter sowing of the seed of gospel truth, among the Spokane Indians, has produced abundant harvest."

The Yakama Agency.—In 1855 a treaty was made with about fourteen tribes of Eastern Washington, which was ratified four years later and they were placed on the Yakama reservation, which is in the central part of the Terri-

tory. They now number 3,930 Indians. This has been called the model agency of the Pacific coast, and many who are enemies of the peace policy have acknowledged the success of this agency. This has been due to three causes: to faithful continued christian teaching, including that of civilized labor, with a man at the helm who has clung to the work for twenty years, when allowed to do so; to the fact that the reservation during its early years was away from much contact with worthless whites; and that it is largely good agricultural and grazing land.

As the Methodist Episcopal church sent the first missionaries to the Indians on this coast, it was natural, when their first mission in the Willamette valley failed through a variety of causes, that they should look elsewhere for similar work.

In September, 1860, Rev. James H. Wilbur, of the Methodist Episcopal church, who had come to the coast in 1847, went to the agency as superintendent of instruction. He remained in this position for about a year, when he and all the christian employees were turned off by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, but in six months a change took place and Mr. Wilbur was returned to the agency. At the time he was turned off, says Mr. Wilbur, "we" (referring

to the religious teachers) "were treated as dogs," yet he afterwards said that he could see how it had all been overruled for good. In June, 1864, he was appointed Agent, a position he has held ever since, except when the military had charge of the Indians from September, 1869, to January, 1871.

He was a man who, notwithstanding the popular opinion that the Indian is doomed to extermination, and that all attempts to make anything more of him than an ignorant savage are vain and foolish, took direct issue with this idea. He believed in the manhood of the Indian, and in the possibility of elevating him to a high state of civilization, and that notwithstanding he is ignorant, treacherous, and destitute of morality, yet that a moral character could be given to him, and that the first requisite in this work was the practice of the christian virtues by himself in his intercourse with them. He was a man who could manage the Indians "in a kindly and benevolent spirit, yet with firmness and without fear."

When Mr. Wilbur first went there he found the Indians very low, as low, to use his expression, as Indians generally become, without going to the bottomless pit; living in a most squalid manner, and with very little, if any, desire for work or knowledge of it. "They had

been taken from the war path, gathered upon the reserve, fed at great expense by Government, clothed with annuity blankets and goods while living in idleness, using the goods furnished as a gambling fund, drinking whisky, running horses on the Sabbath, stealing each other's wives, and carrying out the practices of low, degraded white men to great perfection."*

Believing that the Bible and plow should go hand in hand in the work, he felt that his position as Superintendent of Instruction, when he first went to the reservation, meant instruction out of school as well as in it. Therefore he proposed to some of the better Indians to go into the woods and cut some saw-logs, and, as they did not know how, he went with them, camping out with his wife at one time for seventeen days. They thus cut about 8,000 feet of logs. Then he showed them how to place them upon the trucks and take them to mill. Afterwards he sawed them into lumber.

He further taught them how to plow. He had one yoke of tame cattle. The other cattle were as wild as the Indians, and the Indians were as wild as the cattle, but, with one or two school boys to each ox, he managed to keep them within an eighty-acre field, and to plow a very crooked furrow. Stripped to his shirt and

* Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 1878, page 141.

pants he worked side by side with them; he held the plow and tilled some hundreds of acres, and, to show them how, he himself also sowed the seed.

At the same time knowledge of books and the Bible was also imparted, and before the year 1865 forty persons were in full connection with the church, four of them being licensed to preach, and in that year eighty more were added on probation. The work began with only two or three of the more intelligent and influential ones, who led the way and others followed. In 1866 they were reported as having, with the exception of the one at Tulalip, the only Indian school in the Territory, and furnishing the only example of encouragement to further effort for their civilization. The reason given was, that the agent and employees made it a matter of conscience to set them a good example.

The Hon. Vincent Colyer in his visit to these Indians in 1871 said: "Leaving the Indians at the top of the bank at dusk, and coming down to the edge of the water, we found a wagon-load of small groceries and other goods scattered along the shore. The owner, a trader from the interior, leaving them there, crossed the river with us. On being asked if the Indians would not steal them he replied: 'No, sir; if all the white men were on one side

and all the Indians on the other, I would always leave my goods on the Indians' side.' Mr. Wilbur informed me that, although the Indians were constantly coming and going, he did not use locks at the agency, and had never lost anything."

The Indians were at that time divided into three classes—the civilized christian class, who were the most prosperous; a few Catholics, a mission of that church having been established just outside of the reservation, and the drummers, or followers of Smohalla, who clung to the old medicine men, but who were gradually growing weaker.

One hundred more united with the church in 1872; two were ordained deacons, Rev. George Waters and Rev. Thomas Pearne, and six licensed as exhorters, and several of them undertook missionary work among the Nez Perces, as they had done a few years previous.

This delegation, which went thus to labor, carried a letter, of which the following are given as extracts, from Rev. Thomas Pearne, who was unable to go on account of illness, to young Timothy, a child of his in the Gospel.

"Dear Brother: Are you going on striving to live godly in Christ Jesus, and do your duty as a minister of His Gospel to your people? May our Heavenly Father bless and crown

your labors with abundant success. Examine yourself daily to see whether you are growing in grace; if you love the blessed Saviour more; if you are growing more like Him in your disposition and temper; if you say nothing but what is for His glory in your talk with the brethren and those who make no profession of religion; and if you feel as much anxiety for the salvation of the people as you should when you consider that they are in so much danger.

"If Christ died for them you should weep over them and teach them, and use every means that love for their souls should suggest to lead them to Jesus. Let your people see that you possess that love which Christ felt when He gave Himself to die for sinners. If we are His disciples surely we should be like Him, and the more we are like Him and preach like Him, the more influence we shall have with those to whom we preach, for they will see that what is claimed for religion is realized by ourselves, and, as the Apostle Paul says, 'We shall be living epistles read and known of all men.' . . . We always succeed better when we put ourselves down on a level with our fellow-sinners, for whatsoever difference there may be in our relation to God, it is all owing to His mercy and grace. Be humble, be meek, be patient,

be loving and kind, but be afraid of nothing but sin."

In 1879 the Piute and Bannock Indians, numbering 543, who had been conquered in the Bannock war the previous summer, were removed to this reservation from the Malheur Agency and vicinity, with the hope that what had been accomplished for the Yakama Indians would also be done for them.

By 1877 the church building had become too small, and it was determined to erect a larger one and use the old one for a school-house. This was built mainly by the Indians, with slight assistance, during the summer of 1880, and was capable of holding 700 people. It is generally filled on the Sabbath with a well-dressed and well-behaved congregation. During 1880 one hundred and fifty-five probationers were received into the church.

The results, as summed up in the annual report for 1880, were: 3,930 Indians, of whom 3,320 wore citizens' clothes, and about two-thirds of whom were on the reservation. About 1,200 male Indians were engaged in civilized pursuits. There were 25 apprentices to the various trades; they owned 280 houses. 95 children were in the two schools, with an average attendance of 70; there were 345 who could read, 70 of whom had learned during the year. They

had 8,000 acres of land under cultivation, and during the year they had raised 35,000 bushels of wheat, 3,350 of oats, barley and corn, and more than 5,000 of vegetables. They had also cut a thousand tons of hay and 375,000 feet of lumber, and owned 17,000 horses and 5,000 cattle. They had gained seventy-six per cent. of their subsistence from labor in civilized pursuits.

The head blacksmith was a native, and the saddler had the reputation of being one of the best in the county.

Many of them were living in good houses, painted outside and inside, with furniture, chairs, tables, bedsteads, cook stoves, mirrors, clocks, watches, crockery, the newspaper and the Bible. They also owned four mowing machines, four combined reapers and mowers, about a hundred plows, as many sets of good harness, seventy-five wagons, seventeen buggies, and twenty-two sewing-machines.

Let us in closing take a look in upon affairs with Gen. O. O. Howard, even as it was some years ago. "To-morrow is Sunday. Go there with me to the Simcoe church. Who are all these well-dressed people, with short, black hair and clean faces and hands? How quiet and orderly; horses hitched to the fences, or coming from different directions, women and children in colors. They walk in and arrange

themselves in a neat church. Not a tobacco stain on the floor; walls papered, seats arranged for males and females separately. The school girls come in and take the front seats on the women's side. Look at them a moment. They are neatly dressed; they made their dresses themselves. How happy their faces, how bright their eyes! They speak English. They sing our songs in English and in their own tongue. Visit their boarding-house. They knit, sew, cook, sweep, and do all household duties under the care and instruction of the matron. They read, they write, they recite well in geography and arithmetic. What more, my friend? 'Oh, that may be so, but how about those already grown?' The work is slow, to be sure. But listen at this church to this universal song of praise, as they sing 'There is a fountain filled with blood,' and 'Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove.' Hear man after man and woman after woman, as they rise and speak, with earnest speech, with brevity and simplicity, in Chinook, in Klikitat and in English, it does not matter; there is a wonderful similarity in those lispings of sorrow or joy, of fear or hope. God knows the language; so do we, if we have ever expressed it, or seen it expressed in the eyes, the face, the motions of the body—if we

have ever heard the sweet tones of hearts that have been made free by a sense of Divine forgiveness. Col. Snap-Judgment, you can talk on railways, steamboats and stages ; you can gather your crowds of eager listeners wherever and whenever you please, and demonstrate again and again that 'an Indian is an Indian,' and therefore there is no hope of his civilization, and the sooner you kill him the better for the human race; but I tell you that you are blind. You have not been to the Simcoe church, and sat there with eyes and ears open for an hour and a half ; if you had, you would say, 'I am mistaken ; let the Indian have a new heart, and let the children be taught, and these, like the rest of God's immortal creatures, are capable of grand results.' Go through a few of those humble tenements, and, with your old heart growing tender as you look, notice the neatness of the front room. There is the Bible on the shelf. Peep into the bedroom. What ! clean white sheets and coverlids. Yes ! in this one and some others. Notice the kitchen stove, table, dishes, towels and what-not. 'There must be white blood.' No, not a drop ; it is all red blood, and the same kind that darkens their faces. . . . . Christ is able to save to the uttermost, even the lost. It is too clearly demonstrated here by Father Wilbur."

And now for the secret of all this. Let Mr. Wilbur tell it in a story to Hon. A. B. Meacham.

"I see that I'll have to tell you of a dream I had many years ago. I was going around Cape Horn to Oregon in 1847. The trip was monotonous. I was, as most young preachers will be, under the clouds. I did not always see the fruit of my labors, and consequently I was somewhat discouraged at times, and felt like giving up the work. Upon one occasion, when I was more than ordinarily depressed, I threw myself upon my bed and fell fast asleep.

"I dreamed as I lay in my bunk, that I went into a blacksmith's shop, thinking to while away an hour, and proposed to 'blow and strike' for the smith. He seemed to be pleased with the offer, and motioned towards the handle of the bellows; at the same time arranging two heavy pieces of iron in his tongs, he placed them in the forge, and carefully heaped upon them a pile of coals, then nodded to me to start the bellows. I had done this kind of work before (in fact I sometimes go now into our shop at Ya'-ka-ma, and blow and strike for my Indian smith when he is short of help). I dreamed that I started the bellows, and pumped away for a while, expecting to see the sparks flying, and the flame bursting from the

forge, but no flame was visible. I doubled my stroke, but no sparks yet. There stood the smith with folded arms, so seemingly unconcerned, that I stopped blowing, and called his attention to the fact that there seemed to be something wrong. He quietly answered, 'blow away.' Again I plied my muscles to the handles of the bellows, and doubled my stroke, but still no fire. Again I stopped and turned to the smith, saying, 'I ain't going to blow when it don't do any good. It's no use to blow when you can't see any fire.'

"'Blow away, young man, blow away,' said the smith in a gentle voice.

"'But it does no good,' I said; 'I shan't blow when I can't see any fire.'

"'Blow away, that's your business. Blow away, young man. I'll tend to this side of the forge. It's your business to blow. You're engaged to blow, and I want you to do it, and leave the balance to me.'

"Again I plied my skill as a blower, but could see no sign of success. He encouragingly said, 'Blow, young man, blow a little longer.' And I did blow with all my might, hoping to see the sparks fly.

"The smith deliberately grasped the tongs, then gave them a quick twist, as he drew the white heated mass from the forge, and swung

it upon the anvil, at the same time shouting, 'Strike, strike, young man, strike.'

"I snatched the handle of the sledge, swung it above my head, and brought it down with all my might, between the strokes of the smith, the sparks flying in every direction, and a prettier weld you never saw.

"'Young man,' said the smith, as he threw the welded iron upon the floor, and straightened his back, at the same time raking great beads of sweat from his brow with his finger, 'young man, you came pretty near losing that heat by your foolishness. When you undertake to blow, blow. It's none of your business, whether you see the fire or not. It's your business to blow, and ask no questions;' and," continued Mr. Wilbur, "I awoke to find myself in a great perspiration. I have been blowing and striking ever since.

"This dream has had something to do with my work all through life. I saw but little proof of success at first with my Indians, but I kept on blowing, never doubting that the fire was doing all right. I kept on with my work, and now hundreds of souls each Sabbath attest that beneath apparent darkness and gloom, the work was going on, and that they had been welded to a new life, a higher civilization." *

* Council Fire, Jan., 1879.

CHAPTER III.

LATER MISSIONS CONCLUDED—WARM SPRINGS —PUYALLUPS—SKOKOMISH—SILETZ—QUINAIELT—NEAH BAY—KLAMATH.

"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy."—*Psalm* 126: 5.

Warm Springs.—These Indians live in Eastern Oregon, and number 558. They belong to five tribes—the Wascoes, Warm Springs, Teninoes, John Days and Piutes; the first two tribes numbering nearly four-fifths of all. The treaty was made in 1855 and ratified in 1859, after which they went to their reservation.

A few of these Indians were the same among whom Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, D. Lee and others labored at the Dalles from 1838 until the mission was closed in 1847. Captain John Smith, of the United Presbyterian Church, went among them as their agent, March 31, 1866. He has been called the Parson Brownlow of the Indian service; and, although over seventy years of age, is still their agent, having been such ever since he entered the service, except when the military had charge, from August 31, 1869, to October 31, 1870.

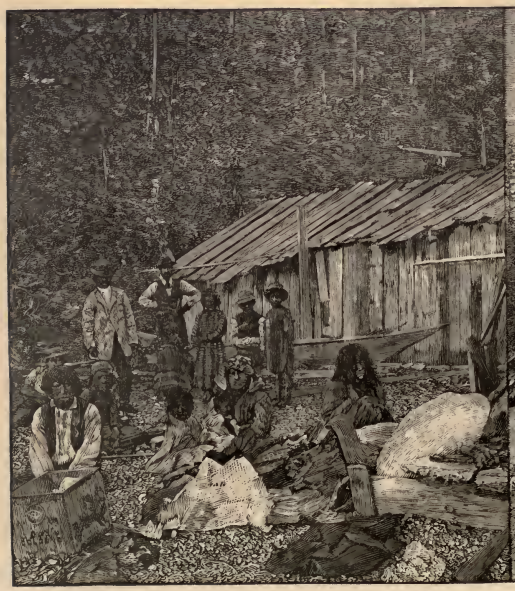
From the time of the closing of the mission

at the Dalles, in 1847, until Captain Smith took charge, the most of their intercourse with the whites had been with such a class as to degrade them, even below the condition in which they were naturally; so that Captain Smith wrote of them in 1874: "A more degraded set of beings, I am sure, did not exist on the earth. . . . The mind of man could not conceive that human beings could get so low in the scale of humanity as they were; and, I am sure, if they had been left to the instincts of their own wild savage natures, they could never have been so low down as they were. God's holy Sabbath was set apart as a day of licentiousness and debauchery. Drinking and gambling had become common. Their women were universally unchaste, and were taught to believe that lewdness was a commendable practice, or even a virtue. Diseases and death were entailed on their posterity. The men had to submit at the point of the bayonet. The consequence was, that the Indians had lost all confidence in the honesty and integrity of the white men. . . . How to restore the lost confidence seemed a herculean task. My first work was to get rid of all contaminating influences, by discharging bad men and filling their places with good, moral and religious persons. The reformation at first seemed slow, but grad-

ually increased from day to day. I was soon able to start a Sabbath-school, and Divine services were held every Sabbath. The Indians, old and young, were placed in suitable classes, and appropriate teachers set over them. Soon our large and commodious house of worship was filled to its utmost capacity by old and young, male and female, all seemingly eager to pick up the crumbs of comfort that fell from God's holy word; and from Sabbath to Sabbath this was continued.

"Then came a change. Officers of the army were ordered to relieve Agents. The Sabbath was soon disregarded; christian and moral men were compelled to resign. Their places were filled by others who cared for nothing of the kind, and everything was relapsing into its former condition.

"When I was again permitted to return, I found things but little better than when I first came. However, I immediately set to work, and, I can truly say, with full success. We have now three Bible classes that read a verse around, and seem to comprehend what they read. . . . Many who cannot read can quote a large amount of Scripture. Quite a number, both men and women, lead in prayer, and many families maintain family worship, seemingly leading christian lives. We have nearly one



Steilacoom Indians at home.

Indian Burying Ground.

hundred professing to lead christian lives, and we seem to be adding from day to day, such as I hope will be saved. Our day school has been a great success for the last two years—before that it was a failure."*

Nearly all the christian work, previous to 1877, was done by the Agent and employees, and since that time they have had the help of a missionary for only a part of the time. In 1871, when the various agencies were assigned to the different religious denominations in order that they might nominate Agents, this one fell to the Methodist Episcopal Church; but, owing to Captain Smith's previous work and influence over those Indians, that Church wisely, and in a christian spirit, recommended him; nor did it seem wise for them to send a missionary of their own denomination, and as it had been assigned to that Church, the United Presbyterians did not feel at liberty to send a missionary either. Thus affairs continued until 1877.

At that time, and for some time before, the christian interests of the Agency seemed to demand a change. The Methodists did not organize a church; neither did the Presbyterians; hence, the christian Indians were not gathered in. It was to be expected that they should prefer to unite with the Presbyterian

* Wigwam and Warpath, p. 161.

Church, since they had become christians through the labors of its members. Consequently, at that time, when a change was made, their religious care was wholly transferred to the latter Church.

In 1878 Rev. R. N. Fee went among them, and a church was organized. Previous to that time, and in the year 1875, the Rev. T. J. Smith spent one Sabbath in a month at the Agency, but as he was able to be there for only one day at a time to hold public service, and had no proper opportunity for private intercourse with his hearers, he was not able to accomplish much. Mr. Fee continued to act as missionary until October, 1879, when he removed, and the Sabbath services again devolved upon the Agent and his clerk, Mr. C. H. Walker. Since Mr. Fee's departure, though quite a number are ready to unite, none have been received into the church, there being no ordained minister to receive them. Others who were willing to unite when they had an opportunity, held back because they were required to give an intelligent reason of their faith in christianity. Billy Chinook, or rather W. C. Parker, who received instruction at the Dalles more than thirty-five years ago, is an elder in the church, and always takes his Testament to the Agency, and has some one hear him read and expound the lesson to him.

After the preaching services on the Sabbath, a conference is held, at which all the men and women are requested to speak. Strangers are often surprised at the intelligence shown by those who, but a few years ago, were ignorant savages. The week of prayer, in which they take especial interest, has been of great benefit to them. The Wasco Indians are the leaders in christian advancement, the church members being nearly all from that tribe, while the whole tribe nominally has accepted the truths of christianity. The Warm Springs and John Day's Indians live further from the Agency—from ten to fifteen miles—and have made less progress both in civilization and christianity. Missionary work has, however, been extended to them, "they have heard the word of God gladly," and good results are seen.

Captain Smith writes, January 31, 1881, in the Council Fire:

"Upon my advent . . . . there were many slaves, who had been taken as captives in war, or purchased from other tribes of Indians. The first thing I did was to issue a general emancipation proclamation, and set them at liberty. This was an extremely unpopular movement at the time. . . . I required all my employees to attend public worship, and to

take a part in religious exercises. Progress for some time was very slow and discouraging, and many times I was disposed to abandon the work, and certainly should have done so if it had not been for your remonstrances against it, and encouragement to go on, whenever I would mention the subject to you; and also Father Brunot, who paid us a visit as Inspector of Agencies, at a time I had fully concluded to resign my position. He spoke words of encouragement and comfort to me when I felt the most despondent. I was all the time supported and encouraged by the counsels of my wife, who was quietly and gently, but effectively, laboring with the women, and endeavoring to elevate them.

"Perhaps right here was the commencement. and the first fruit of our missionary labor. A few Indian women were the first to become interested in the work of civilization and christianity. Then a few of the men came in and the work was begun. Growing until the 'little leaven has almost leavened the whole lump.' For a long time converts to religion were confined to the old men and women, but for the last two years our accessions have been of the young men and the young women, those who have been educated in our school, not one of whom there is, that has arrived at the years of

discretion, that is not now an active, earnest and zealous professing christian ; and many of the heretofore wildest and unpromising of the Warm Spring tribe have made a public profession of religion, and are leading the most exemplary and christian-like lives.

" At our communion about two years since, there were upwards of 70, who were members in good standing of the United Presbyterian Church, and since that time, 74 of the most influential and intelligent, who had heretofore not united with the church, have come forward and made public declaration of their faith in God and a Redeemer, and who are active and zealous participants in our religious exercises. And let me here observe that in all those who have made a profession there is not one instance of a relapse, or one subject of church discipline or censure. They give more evidence of sincerity in their profession than any people I have ever seen. The church membership would have been more than double what it now is, could we have had an ordained minister of the Gospel of the denomination to which this Agency has been assigned, to admit them, there having been no church communion, as I have stated, for nearly two years. I have been ably assisted by my clerk, Cyrus H. Walker, a licentiate of the Congregational Church, a faithful, intelli-

gent and able expounder of God's holy word, and also his brother, Marcus W. Walker, a gentleman of fine attainments and an agreeable speaker and teacher, a member of the United Presbyterian Church, both sons of the late Rev. Elkanah Walker, one of our earliest missionaries."

The fruits of this christianity in the whole tribe are seen in almost every department of life. Their deportment at church will compare favorably with that of white people. They are generally good singers, and have learned to sing from books.

Most of the gambling and drunkenness died out gradually with the rise of religion; those professing christianity abstaining from principle from these vices, and frowning down the practice in others. Thus crime has in a great measure ceased, so that the guard-house fell into ruins by 1873.

They have been noted for the assistance which they have given our troops in two Indian wars—that with the Snake River Indians and the Modoc war. See Chapter VI.

In 1865 they ate their meals, if meals they could be called, off the ground like pigs, and were wrapped in their filthy blankets; but now most families sit around tables, which are furnished with many of the luxuries of life, and dress in the clothes of American citizens.

Previous to Captain Smith's administration, polygamy was indulged to its fullest extent, and the women were bought and sold, and used as beasts of burden, and when old they were kicked out to get their living as best they could, or to die of want. But this is all changed, because their Agent told them that it was contrary to the Bible.

It is interesting to read their thoughts and speeches, when they gave up polygamy in December, 1871, on the occasion of a visit from Hon. A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. After one or two days of speech-making, their hearts were thoroughly aroused, and the proposition was made to abolish polygamy.

"Who will be the first to throw away his Indian heart, laws, customs, and be from this day henceforth a white man in everything pertaining to civilization?"

"Silence reigned. All eyes turned toward Mark, head chief. He realized the situation, and saw how much of the welfare of his people depended on his example. He saw besides his three wives and their ten children. He arose slowly, half-hesitating, as if he had not made up his mind what to do. The presence of his women embarrassed him. He said, 'My heart is warm like fire, but there are cold spots in it.

I don't know how to talk. I want to be a white man. My father did not tell me it was wrong to have so many wives. I love all my women. My old wife is a mother to the others. I can't do without her. But she is old; she cannot work very much; I can't send her away to die. This woman,' pointing to another, 'cost me ten horses. She is a good woman. I can't do without her. That woman,' pointing to still another, 'cost me eight horses; she is young; she will take care of me when I am old. I don't know how to do. I want to do right. I am not a bad man. I know your new law is good; the old one is bad. We must be like the white men. I am a man; I will put away the old law.'

"Captain Smith, although a Presbyterian, behaved then like an old-fashioned Methodist, shouting 'Thank God, thank God, the ice is broke.'

"Mark remained standing, and resumed, 'I want you to tell me how to do right. I love my women and children. I can't send any of them away. What must I do?' The old chief was moved, and his upheaving breast gave proof that he was a man. Silence follows while awaiting the answer—a silence that was felt..... The Superintendent replied, 'I know how much depends on my words. This is a great ques-

tion. It has always been a hard thing to manage. My heart is not a rock. I sympathize with you; Captain Smith feels for you. We will tell you what to do. No man after this day shall ever marry more than one woman. No woman shall ever be sold. The men that have more than one wife must arrange to be lawfully married to one of them. The others are to remain with him until they are married to other persons, or find homes elsewhere. If they do not marry again, the husband must take care of them and their children.'

"After a few moments the chief arose and said: 'I understand; that is right. I will give all my wives a choice. I will be a white man from this day;' and then advancing toward the desk, he was welcomed by a friendly greeting from the white men present."

His second wife, Matola, arose, and made a short speech, inquiring what was to become of her and her children. "Is your heart made of stone? Can I give Mark up? No, I won't; he will want my children; I want them. I won't go away. I am his wife. I am satisfied with being his second wife. We did not know it was wrong. Nobody told us so. We get along well together; I won't leave him; I am his wife." The plan was explained and she was reconciled.

John Mission was the next to follow Mark,

saying that "when he was a small boy, he first heard about the new law. He had waited for the time when his people would come to it. They have come now. I am glad in my heart. I give you my hand."

Billy Chinook said: "I throw away the law my fathers made. I take this new law. I have two wives. They are both good. If anybody wants one of my wives, he can have her; if he don't, she can stay. Long time I have waited for the new law. It has come. I give you my hand."

Hand-shaking was renewed, and then one after another arose and made short speeches, and came forward, and were enrolled; the Captain growing warmer and more enthusiastic as each new name was entered on the roll. Nearly a hundred had come out squarely, and the meeting was adjourned to the following day.

On reassembling the next morning the invitation was renewed and nearly all the men present surrendered. Sitting moody, gloomy, silent, was a tall, fine-looking fellow with a blanket on his shoulders. His name was Pi-a-noose. He had been called on several times, but had not responded until near the close of this civil revival. Unexpectedly he laid aside his blanket and arose. Every eye was turned

on this man, because he had opposed every new law. While he was a peaceable, quiet man, he was a strong one, and had always exercised a great influence, especially with the younger men. He began to talk—breaking a breathless silence, because it was supposed he would take a stand against the new law—the Indian's way of speaking of all new rules. His speech was one of vast importance to his hearers, and was as follows:

"I was born a wild Indian. My father was a wild Indian. A long time I have fought you in my heart. I have not talked much. I wanted to think. I have thought about the new law a great deal. My heart says, No! I cannot fight against it any longer. I am going to be a white man. I will not give up the new law."

He advanced toward the desk, and the Captain, unable to restrain his emotions of pleasure, gave vent to exclamations of gladness, by slapping his hand on the desk, while tears came to his eyes in proof of his pleasure. The handshaking that followed was of that kind which expressed more than words. A throng gathered around Pi-a-noose, congratulating him.

"Here was a scene that would have touched the heart of a man possessed of any feeling—a savage transformed into a man. The world

scoffs at such sentiments, because it seldom witnesses a spectacle so grand in human life; Indians that have passed into that new life are like white men newly converted to christianity. Our meeting adjourned with great demonstrations of pleasure on the part of all interested.

"The Captain called his employees together for a prayer-meeting; a few Indians were present, taking part in the exercises."*

Previous to 1866 their crops did not probably exceed 300 bushels in any one year. In that year seed which they packed 40 miles was furnished them, and which yielded them at least 3,400 bushels of wheat, and more than 340 of corn, besides a good supply of vegetables. What was better, it instilled into them a new courage. Although the reservation contains 464,000 acres, it is largely not adapted to agriculture, more than one-half of it being mountainous and covered with timber, and the remainder not well adapted for agricultural purposes. It may be estimated that 3,600 acres are probably sufficient for their wants, and though in many years they have suffered from the crickets and drought, still, according to the official report, they cultivated in 1880 2,000 acres of land, being for that year an increase of 500, and raised 10,000 bushels

* Wigwam and Warpath, pp. 174–179.

of wheat, 500 of corn, 1,575 of oats, and more than 3,000 of vegetables, and 175 tons of hay. Their stock has increased from 200 to 525 cattle, and from 1,700 to 3,900 horses, the breed of the latter having also been improved. One man raises from 800 to 1,000 bushels of grain every year on an average, and there are several smaller farms which produce 300 or 400 bushels. The miller (grist mill) and superintendent of farming are Indians, and the blacksmith work is also done by the Indians. There are six apprentices, in the grist mill, saw mill, wagon shop and blacksmith shop. There are sixty who can read, and in 1880 fifteen of the best and brightest of the scholars were taken to Forest Grove for a higher education, at the Indian Government school. These Indians for some years have been increasing, there having been more births than deaths. The Wascoes have been the leading ones in civilization, but the Warm Springs and John Day's Indians have at last roused up and gone to work; the 500 additional acres mentioned as having been broken up during 1880, having been chiefly their work. Of them it can be said that they made more progress during that year than during the previous twenty. In general prosperity, the Indians on the reservation are nearly abreast of the white settlers around them,

and for good order they are superior to white communities of the same intelligence.

The Puyallup Indians.—These Indians are situated near New Tacoma, on Puget Sound, in Washington Territory, and number about 520 persons. Though a treaty was made with them in 1855, yet in 1871, when the reservation was turned over to christian workers, most of whom were members of the Presbyterian Church, very few could be found who could read or write, and but little farming was done.

In 1865, John Flett, a christian man, who had long had intercourse with various tribes of Indians on the coast, went there as blacksmith, and remained most of the time for fifteen years. He was, however, not one of those who pounded iron and did nothing else, but was continually talking to the Indians in regard to the Bible. In 1871 he was reinforced by other christian workers (Government employees), and in 1873 Rev. G. W. Sloan became a teacher, and remained until his health failed in 1875. After this Mr. Flett again took the lead, but as the work seemed to be growing on his hands, and believing that the time had come when it needed more attention than he could give, he wrote for help, and the Rev. M. G. Mann, of the Presbyterian Church, was sent there in the spring of 1876. He soon organized a church

of 24 members. Since 1876, when the treaty expired, and the employees left, he and Mr. Flett have had but little christian help, except during a small portion of the time, when special appropriations have been made by Government for a few employees. But the work has gone on steadily, some of the medicine men even joining the church, until now it numbers nearly 150 members in good standing.

Other results are seen in a good Sabbath-school, the christian marriage of nearly all the adults, a much better observance than formerly of the marital ties, the discontinuance in the main of gambling, drunkenness, buying and selling women for wives, superstitious rites and incantations over the sick, the decrease of idleness, and increase of industry.

All the able-bodied men are engaged in civilized pursuits; 164 separate allotments of land have been made to the tribe. Recently they were rejoiced to receive from the United States titles to their land, for which they had been asking and waiting for many years. That was one of the best things which Government ever did for them to encourage them in habits of industry. The acreage cultivated by them has increased from 291 in 1871, to 1,200 in 1880, all of which it was necessary to clear of heavy timber, at a cost of

from thirty to sixty dollars an acre. The increase of their products since 1871, according to official reports, has been of wheat from 882 bushels to 2,825; from 2,160 bushels of oats and barley to 6,850; from 160 tons of hay to 1,100; and their garden vegetables, mostly potatoes, from about 12,000 bushels to 18,000; their cattle have increased from 82 to 383; and while they had no swine or sheep in 1871, they now have 425 of the former and 107 of the latter. Their horses alone have decreased, the number now being 325, against 409 before. Eighty of the Indians can read, and about twenty-five of their children have gone to Forest Grove for higher instruction. Their births exceed their deaths, and it is estimated that they obtain ninety-five per cent. of their subsistence from civilized pursuits.

The ex-chief, Thomas Stolyer, took the lead among the Indians in the christian work, about the time of the organization of the church; but he died a year or two afterwards. The following interesting message was received from him by the Synod of the Columbia, at its meeting in Portland, Oregon, while he was sick: "Indian Chief Thomas Stolyer, elder of the Presbyterian Church at the Puyallup, who appeared and spoke on the floor of the last meeting of the Presbytery, now about to die,

and going to his reward, as the first fruits of missionary work among that tribe, unable to represent his dark brethren in the Synod, sends his warm interest to this body, and thanks them for sending the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to that tribe of the savage Indians. He dies in firm faith of its saving truth, and in serene hope of eternal life, relying only on the merits of Jesus his Saviour. He sends as his dying request that the Presbyterian Church may not grow cold in their interest for his brethren, but that the gospel may be continued to be preached among them."

As an out-station Rev. Mr. Mann has visited the Nesqually Reservation, which is under the same agent as that at the Puyallup, General R. H. Milroy; and for missionary work some of the Puyallup Indians have assisted him at that place. There are about 160 Indians belonging to this tribe, less than half of whom live on their reservation, and in former years they have been under Catholic instruction. For many years there have been no Government employees on this reservation, and consequently they have improved but little. But since the gospel has been preached among them there has been an improvement in morals, a comfortable church building erected, which was completed in June, 1880, and a Presbyterian Church of ten

members has been organized. Some of the Puyallup Indians spent there a part of Christmas, 1880, in assisting in religious services, and professed to enjoy them as much as some whites do a Christmas tree.

In the early part of 1881 a third church was organized by Mr. Mann on the Chehalis reservation, which belongs to the same agency, and at which comparatively little christian or educational work had previously been done. In 1873 a boarding school was opened, and continued until 1875, with good effect on the children and older Indians, when it was closed for want of funds. After this the Indians went back in a great measure to their old habits, and the children forgot nearly all they had learned; so that when in 1879 the mission was reopened, nearly all of the children had to begin with their A B C's. At the same time other employees were also sent, a Sabbath-school begun, and the good work urged forward until the result has been a small church. There are 185 of the Chehalis Indians.

These three churches, at the meeting of the Presbytery at Port Townsend, April 5, 1881, were represented by three Indian elders, and the following was adopted: "Presbytery notes with extreme pleasure (1), the presence of some of our Indian brethren in the eldership

representing the churches of Puyallup, Nesqually and Chehalis at the session of the Presbytery; and (2), the additional satisfactory fact that their traveling expenses have been fully defrayed by the churches which they represent."

The last great event which has gladdened the hearts of the christian workers on the Puyallup reservation has been the dedication of their new church building, January 23d, 1881. It is in plain view from New Tacoma, the terminus of the North Pacific Railroad, and has cost much care and thought to the missionary. The Indians contributed very largely and mainly to its erection, although some of the citizens of Tacoma assisted, and other outside aid was also given. Rev. T. C. Armstrong, of New Tacoma, Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D.D., of Portland, who has for ten years watched, aided and advised these Indians, Gen. Milroy, their agent, and Dr. Newell, the Governor of the Territory, were present, and addressed the Indians with words of encouragement, the dedicatory sermon having been preached by Dr. Lindsley.

Here, then, is a solution to the Indian question; as a gentleman in the Puyallup valley, a prominent man, though not a professing christian, said to the writer. He had never, he said, believed that christianity or anything else would solve the problem; but since he had seen

what had been accomplished among the Puyallup Indians, through the influence of christianity, during the past ten years, he acknowledged that he had been wrong in his opinion, and had come to agree with the principles of the then christian policy of Government.

"They show," says Rev. Dr. Lindsley, in what he calls moderate views, "the reality of their conversion, and the sincerity of their professions, by a life as consistent as can be found in any community of christians of a similar grade of intelligence."

The Skokomish Reservation.—The Indians belonging to this reservation are situated on the western shores of Puget Sound. They consist of two tribes. The Twanas, 250 in number, most of whom live on the reservation, and the Clallams, who number 500, and who live at various places between the Agency and Neah Bay, the principal settlements being at Port Gamble, Dunginess, Elkwa and Clallam Bay.

In 1871 the religious care of this Agency was assigned to the Congregationalists. Previous to that time very little had been done for them, religiously. In 1867 Rev. W. C. Chattin, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was employed as school teacher. He also held religious services on the Sabbath, which some of the older Indians attended; but Sabbath-breaking, such as house-building, trafficking and gambling of

the whites and Indians, which was allowed in sight and hearing of the place of worship, prevented the good from being done which, probably, might otherwise have been accomplished. Mr. Chattin did not remain long, and no religious services seem to have been held until 1868, when Mr. D. B. Ward, of the Protestant Methodist Church, began work as school teacher. He also held a small Sabbath-school. He found difficulties to contend with which were very similar to those which Mr. Chattin had met. "If it is wrong to break the Sabbath, why does the Agent do so?" "If it is wrong to play cards and gamble, why do the white employees do so?" These and similar questions were asked by the children, and these examples largely counteracted christian precepts.

But in 1871 Mr. Edwin Eells was appointed Agent, and has since remained. A Sabbath-school and prayer-meeting were immediately established. And most of the Indians who were on the reservation dropped in on the Sabbath during the summer of that year.

In 1872, Rev. J. Casto, M.D., was appointed physician, and Rev. C. Eells, the father of the Agent, and who thirty-four years before had come to the coast as a missionary to the Spokane Indians, both preached during the winter at the Agency and in the camps of the Indians.

Dr. Casto remained until 1873, and Mr. Eells continued in steady labor until 1874.

During the latter year a council-house was built at a money cost to the Government of five hundred dollars, besides the work which was done by the Government carpenter. This building has been steadily used as a church.

In the spring of that year it was thought best to organize a church, for although at first it was evident that it would be composed mainly of the white employees, yet it was hoped that it would have a salutary influence on the Indians. This was done June 23d, 1874, with eleven members, one of whom was an Indian man, the interpreter.

About that time Rev. M. Eells went to the Agency on a visit, but Providence seemed to keep him there longer than he at first intended, having soon afterwards received an appointment as missionary from the American Missionary Association, and he has remained there since that time. Slowly different individuals have come into the church, twenty Indians in all, besides twelve whites on profession of their faith.

The Sabbath-school under the superintendence of the Agent has been steadily kept up, an interesting feature of it being the committing to memory of the verses of the lesson. Some Sabbaths about twenty scholars have re-

cited the six verses of the lesson without a mistake, and some scholars have done so for a whole year.

The temperance work has been as successful as could be expected. Although there is a little drinking, yet the greater portion of it has ceased, especially upon the reservation ; and those away from it drink by no means as much as many of their white neighbors.

In 1878 a small hymn book in the Chinook jargon was published by the missionary. It grew out of the work; for while the younger Indians who understand English enjoy singing our songs, the older ones complained that they were dull, as they could not understand them. These hymns repeat often, and hence are easily remembered, and thus the truths contained in them are retained in the memory much better than the same truths are remembered when preached. Indians learning them have taught them to other Indians far away; to some even in British Columbia, whom the missionary has never seen.

In February, 1881, the church lost one of its most intelligent Indian members—John F. Palmer, who was accidentally killed while at work in the saw-mill at Seabeck. He was a remarkable man. In 1859 he went with the family of James Seavy, of Port Townsend, to San

Francisco, where he remained a year or two, when he shipped on board a vessel, and spent most of the time until 1863 or 1864 about the mouth of the Amoor River in Asiatic Russia. After that he returned to Puget Sound, and was for about ten years interpreter at the Skokomish Agency. He understood the Nesqually, Skokomish or Twana, Clallam, Russian and English languages, and could read and write the latter, although he was never at school more than three weeks in his life. Most of his knowledge he picked up in the family of Mr. Seavy and on board ship. He had a library worth fifty or sixty dollars, and took several papers, both Eastern and Western. He was the only Indian to unite with the church at its organization, but he lived to see his wife and her two sisters, whom he brought up, members of it, one of these sisters married, and her child the first one among those of the Indians to receive baptism. Many of his family relations in early days died through the influence of whisky, and this made him very firm in behalf of temperance. His life abroad and other influences and teachings led him to lose faith in the Indian incantations, so that he was far in advance of his tribe, and was constantly laboring with earnestness to induce them to abandon their superstitions.

About seventy-five persons in both tribes can read, six are apprentices to various trades, while some, having served their time out, have gone forth to labor for themselves. Since July, 1881, the white persons employed as farmer and blacksmith have been discharged, and Indians have been put into their places, while for more than two years previous to that time the carpenter was an Indian. The first Indian employed in that position, and who gave satisfaction in his work, until he resigned on account of ill health, was never in school or church until he was about twenty-two years of age, having lived about thirty miles from the reservation. After he was of age he saved his money in order that he might attend school, and he spent three winters in the school on the reservation. He was thereafter appointed carpenter, a trade which he had picked up in his intercourse with the whites.

About four-fifths of the Twanas are located on small tracts of land on the reservation, surveyed and allotted to them, where they have continuously lived during the past six years. Certificates of allotment of land in severalty were issued in the spring of 1881 to forty-five of them by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This was a great encouragement and warranted them in cherishing the hope that they would

not be removed to any other reservation, but would be allowed to enjoy the fruit of their own labors.

They have cleared small farms, and have comfortable houses, barns, woodsheds and out-houses, and small orchards. Indoors, many of them keep their floors clean. The rooms are warmed with stoves and fire-places, and some have the walls neatly papered; some of them have chairs and tables, sinks and cupboards, bedsteads, with feather-beds, sheets and pillow-cases, as well as clocks and looking-glasses, with a few sewing-machines. They are annually growing more tidy. As an out-station, the Clallams at the Indian village of Jamestown, near Dunginess, have received considerable attention from the Agent and missionary. They are ninety miles from the Agency. Previous to 1873 they were much addicted to the use of strong drink; so much so that the white residents near them petitioned to have them removed to the reservation—a punishment they dread nearly as much as any other which can be inflicted on them. The threat of doing this had a good effect, so that about fifteen of the leading ones combined and bought 218 acres of land, and they laid out their village. Most of them have reformed in regard to drunkenness, and they have steadily advanced in civilization.

The head chief of the tribe, Lord Jim Balch, who lives here, has held a strong and firm rein over the others, especially in regard to intemperance.

In 1874 they began holding occasional services of some kind on the Sabbath. At the first these consisted mostly in singing Chinook songs; but speaking and prayer were afterward added. In 1878 they built a small church, which was dedicated May 12th. It was the first church in the county, although it had been settled twenty-four years, and now has a population of 537 whites. It was built mostly with their own means, although at that time none of them were members of the church. Six of them have since united with it. In the spring of 1878, at their request a school teacher, Mr. J. W. Blakeslee, was furnished to them. He continued with them until June, 1881. This day-school, which was begun as an experiment, has proved a success. The result with them has demonstrated that one advantageous method of dealing with Indians is to throw them on their own resources, induce them to settle on land, make them amenable to law, and provide them with the means of education. Then with the care of an agent to see that the laws against drinking are properly enforced, and that the children are made to attend the

school until they realize its value, no further drain need to be made on the public treasury; for their necessities and the example of their white neighbors will do the rest.

This settlement has been a light-house to the other Indians along the shores of the Straits of Juan De Fuca. Another band at Clallam Bay, in 1880, purchased land for themselves, and are preparing to follow the example of their Jamestown brethren, while those at Elkwa are adopting a different plan, yet a civilizing one, by settling on homesteads.

Siletz Reservation, Oregon. The Siletz reservation is situated in Western Oregon, and contains 1,119 Indians. In 1855 a treaty was made with fourteen tribes in Southern Oregon, which was never ratified by Congress. The reservation was established in 1855 by order of the President, and curtailed to its present limits in 1865. About 1856 the Indians were placed on it. In 1876 the Indians of the Alsea reservation, which was about that time discontinued, numbering 335, were removed to the Siletz.

The hatred these Indians had for each other was only exceeded by that which they had for the whites. The contentions between them, together with the practice of the low vices of the whites and their own vices, while at the same time little, if any christianity was given to

them to elevate them, soon began to decrease their numbers. When they were first removed to the reservation they were reported at 6,000, but in a few years they were reduced to 1,000, and it was not until 1875 that this decrease seemed to be arrested.

These Indians were by the earlier agents said to be the most turbulent on the coast. They were the centre of the Rogue River war of 1855-6, and the terror of Southern Oregon. As late as 1869 a garrison was supposed to be necessary on the reservation in order to keep peace, and was accordingly maintained.

In 1871 this agency was assigned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in May of that year, when Gen. Joel Palmer was appointed Agent, a more lenient policy was employed. A Sabbath-school was begun and christian instruction given, but, as he remained less than two years, the fruits of seed sown did not fully appear.

He was succeeded in April, 1873, by J. H. Fairchild, who zealously followed up the policy begun by his predecessor. He held week-day services as well as on the Sabbath, while stringent laws were made against Sabbath breaking, profanity and kindred vices, and soon a better state of things was reported. Licentiousness, theft, fighting and wife-beating in a great mea-

sure ceased, and the jail for months at a time was tenantless.

In 1873, Rev. W. C. Chattin was engaged as a teacher, who added to his other duties those of a missionary, and the same year a church was organized, which in 1880 numbered 130 members, including probationers. In October, 1875, Mr. Fairchild resigned, and Mr. William Bagley, who had been superintendent of farming under his predecessor, assumed charge. He saw no better way than to continue christianity as a civilizer, and the same policy has been continued by his successor, Mr. E. A. Swan, who entered on the duties of his office in June, 1879. Preaching services are now held once each Sabbath by an appointee of the Oregon Conference, and other religious services, often in the form of praise or prayer meetings, are held in the evening. A class meeting is held on each Tuesday evening and a prayer meeting on Thursday evening at the Agency. While there have been some causes which prevented the seed thus sown from bringing forth the fruit desired or even expected, yet some fruit has been plainly seen. Men formerly most in brawls and fights have exhibited such a change, showing patience under provocation, readiness to forgive injury, a spirit of meekness and love under persecution, that

they have won the confidence of all, and those who have derided them have sought their counsel to aid in settling differences. Most of the drunkenness has ceased, and the medicine men are rapidly losing their influence, comparatively few now having confidence in them. In 1880 all of them wore citizens' clothes ; nearly all the male Indians were engaged in civilized pursuits ; nearly one hundred children were in school, and one hundred and fifty adults could read ; whereas in 1871 it was reported that probably not over six knew their letters. They cultivated 1,956 acres, 400 of which were broken during the year ; they raised 1,500 bushels of wheat, 5,500 of oats and barley, 4,310 of vegetables, and cut 300 tons of hay, against 415 of wheat, 95 of corn, and 6,670 of potatoes in 1871. There were also 144,-614 feet of lumber cut at the steam saw-mill, which was erected in 1876, most of the work being done by the Indians. Sixty-eight per cent. of their subsistence was obtained by labor in civilized pursuits, four per cent. from Government, and the rest by fishing, hunting, root-gathering, and the like.

The Quinaielt Reservation.—These Indians are on the western coast of Washington Territory, and number 529 persons. In 1871 they were assigned to the Methodist Episcopal Church,

and Mr. G. A. Henry was appointed Agent. He had been, however, Agent at the same place previous to the time when the military had charge. Christian, educational and civilizing work has been slow among them, for, owing to their situation on the coast and the difficulty of farming on the reservation because of the heavy timber, they have retained many of their old habits.

The Agent and employees, however, carried on a Sabbath-school and other christian work, and some of the school children who died gave evidence of conversion.

Mr. Henry remained in charge until April, 1878, when, having resigned, Col. Oliver Wood took his place. The older Indians cling strongly to their superstitions, and the main hope of improvement seems to be through the school. This, previous to 1878, contained only twelve or thirteen scholars, but during the last two or three years it has increased to thirty-four.

During Mr. Henry's administration, the Quillehute Indians, about 250 in number, who lived to the north of the Agency, were withdrawn from it, and assigned to the Neah Bay Agency. In December, 1879, however, the lower Chehalis Indians, living south of the reservation, were withdrawn from the Nesqually Agency and assigned to that at the Quinaielt.

These Indians are much scattered, but a school house has been built among them on Shoalwater Bay, and a school of twenty scholars begun, in addition to the one already referred to on the reservation.

No missionary has ever been sent to the reservation, but the Episcopal Church, with which those now in charge are connected, contributed a gift of books for church and Sabbath-school purposes, and the Rev. E. Davis, of that church, accepted the position as teacher at Shoalwater Bay.

Neah Bay Reservation.—These Indians, like those at the Quinaielt, have made less progress in christianity than some other tribes, owing partly perhaps, to the numerous changes which have taken place among those in charge, but mainly to their own habits. They are situated on the north-west corner of Washington Territory, and are composed of two tribes, the Makahs, numbering 728 persons, whose home is on the reservation, and the Quillehutes, who live about thirty miles south of the reservation, and number 310 persons.

In 1871 the Agency was assigned to the Christian denomination. E. M. Gibson was appointed Agent, and for a time Rev. C. H. Hodges, while serving as teacher, acted as missionary. A Sabbath-school was then kept up,

which has been sustained and increased by their successors. In 1874 such changes were made that Rev. C. A. Huntington, a Congregationalist, became Agent, who also performed some missionary work, but, like the others who have been there, devoted most of his time to the children. In 1877, Captain C. Willoughby, who, with his wife, the matron, are members of the Episcopal Church, took charge. The teacher, Mr. A. W. Smith, to whom the Agent gives a large share of the credit for the success of the school, is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

It has been said that one christian working forty years among the Indians will accomplish very much more than four such men following each other, and each working for ten years. Hence it is not strange that at this Agency, where the christian work has been in the hands of so many different denominations, the results may not have been as great as if any one true-minded, earnest christian worker, in whom the Indians had confidence, had labored steadily during even ten years.

Another fact which has worked both against their civilization and christianization has been the ease with which the Indians obtain money. They make a large share of their living by seal-fishing, which is very profitable, and of which

they have had almost the monopoly as far as the Indians in this region in the United States are concerned. A few months' work at this business is enough to support them most of the year, and they have more money in proportion to their numbers than the other tribes in the territory. In 1880 it was estimated that twenty thousand dollars was thus distributed among the tribes belonging to this Agency. Their land, too, is very poor for agriculture, and they say, "What is the use of our working on this barren land where the army worm and rust destroy the crop, or for the Agent for a dollar or a dollar and a half a day, when we can in a few days catch seals whose furs will be worth from twenty to forty dollars." Hence they dislike to work steadily, and as "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do," they have spent more time in gambling and the old heathenish customs than many other tribes.

For these reasons those in charge for many years have felt that their main chance of success is with the children in school. For several years they varied in numbers from thirty-five to fifty scholars, but in 1880 increased appropriations were made, and the number increased to sixty-nine. These children have been especially proficient in committing to memory numerous chapters in the Bible, which they repeat

in concert with a perfection that astonishes many whites who hear them, and about which they often converse among themselves, so as to understand the meaning.

The Klamath Reservation.—A treaty was made with the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians in 1864, its ratification with amendments was advised in 1866, and it was proclaimed by the President in 1870, and the Klamath reservation in Southern Oregon was assigned to these Indians. In 1869 there were 1,400 Indians on it; in 1880, 1,023.

It was assigned in 1871 to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in May, 1872, Mr. L. S. Dyer was sent there as Agent. Previous to this time little if any religious instruction had been given to them. As the climate is cold and the crops uncertain, they have been obliged to keep up their roaming habits more than some other tribes, and this has rendered religious work somewhat difficult, though they are naturally more enterprising than many other tribes. Mr. Dyer began a Sabbath-school, and in 1873 Rev. T. Pearne, a Yakama Indian preacher, labored there for a short time, and thirty-six professed to become christians. The next year Rev. James Hare was appointed commissary in charge of the Yainax station on the reserve, and aided in the missionary work as he was

able, a few seeming to exemplify the christian religion in their lives and conduct. As a result of these labors quite an awakening seemed to take place, so that in 1876 ninety persons were reported as being members of the church. The Agent and employees then offered to pay half of the salary of a missionary, so much did they see the need of such a man, if the Methodist Episcopal Church would send him and defray the rest of his expenses ; but the offer did not bring the assistance.

Mr. Dyer was succeeded in 1877 by Rev. J. H. Roork, who reported that a few seemed to have the leaven of truth in their hearts, but the majority who had made a profession had been turned aside to their old ways, being much like the stony ground hearers. In this respect they have, however, been similar to more successful missions among other tribes ; first, apparent success, then a reaction, and then a more permanent step forward.

In February, 1879, Mr. L. M. Nickerson succeeded Mr. Roork, under whom religious services have been constantly held, and although but few became members of the church—twenty in 1879—yet gradual progress is being made by the people in religious knowledge and experience, and they are being slowly moulded into better men and women. In 1880 a church building was in process of erection.

No successful school was begun until 1874, consequently not much had been done in regard to education. Since that time, however, sixty have been taught to read, forty-two being members of the school in 1880, with an average attendance for the year of twenty-eight. All dress in citizens' clothes, and the births now slightly exceed the deaths.

As the climate is too cold for successful farming, not very much has been done in that direction.

PART II.

REFLEX INFLUENCE OF INDIAN MISSIONS ON THE WHITES.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSIONS AND THE NATION—THE POSSESSION OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY—THE GOVERNMENT OF OREGON.

IT might very easily have been said to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1849, "You have spent there forty thousand dollars, lost three or four valuable laborers, and what have you to show for it?" and to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, "Mr. Lee raised forty thousand dollars in order to take out his last reinforcement, besides all that you spent previous to that, and you can show almost nothing." But the result has proven that when God says, "Give and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom," it is as applicable to the missions on the Pacific coast as anywhere else.

Rev. William Warren has written a book entitled "*Our Indebtedness to Missions, or What we Get for what we Give.*" The Pacific coast furnishes abundant material on this subject.

Indian missions brought the first white wo-

men overland to Oregon; opened the first emigrant wagon road to the Columbia River; furnished Oregon with the first United States officer, a Sub-Indian Agent; gave the first Governor to the Territory; established the first permanent American settlement here; aided essentially in the establishment of the Provisional Government, five years before the United States formed a Territorial Government and extended her protection over the country; so that without this aid, the Provisional Government would, without doubt, never have been organized; brought the first American cattle to the Willamette valley; and saved the country, or at least an important portion of it, to the United States.

For a long time Great Britain and the United States had each laid claim to all of the Oregon Territory, comprising what is now Oregon, Washington and Idaho; and for a longer time to that portion which lies north of the Columbia River. The difficulty was owing partly to an ignorance of the fact as to who were the original discoverers of the country—a point involved in obscurity—and partly as to what constituted the right of possession, according to international law, the principles of which were not thoroughly settled.

The history of the north-west coast may be

divided into three periods: that of discovery, the beginning of which is hardly known, but which terminated about 1811, when Mr. David Thomson descended Clark's fork of the Columbia River from fifty-two degrees north latitude to its mouth; that of joint occupancy from 1790 to 1846; and the period since that time when the country was by treaty acknowledged to belong to the United States.

The first period is involved in so much obscurity that we have not space to follow it through its details. The territory had been explored mainly by the Spanish, English, and Americans, and in such a way that each nation laid claim to a portion. France also had claims, because she had discovered the Mississippi River. By right of continuity, she extended her claim to the Pacific Ocean, this being the reason Great Britain advanced for extending her jurisdiction to the Mississippi, by virtue of holding the Atlantic seaboard.

The first national agreement was made between Spain and Great Britain in 1790, in the Convention of the Escurial. The claims of each country were then so strong that joint occupancy was agreed upon between them.

In 1803 the United States purchased from France, Louisiana, and all her rights through to the Pacific coast. In 1818 she bought of

Spain, Florida and the Spanish rights on the Pacific coast north of forty-two degrees. Thus the question was narrowed down to Great Britain and the United States. The latter based her claim on these purchases from France and Spain, the entrance of the Columbia River in 1792, by Captain Gray, who sailed up for twelve or fifteen miles, and the journey of Lewis and Clarke across the continent in 1804–5–6. She claimed all the country west of the Rocky Mountains, between forty-two degrees and fifty-four degrees north latitude, or north to the Russian possessions, thus completely cutting Great Britain off from any sea-coast on the Pacific shores. Great Britain in turn based her claims on her first discoveries, which she stated were prior to those of the Spanish; to the exploration and formal taking possession, in his Majesty's name, of Puget Sound, in 1792, by Vancouver, while in command of a national expedition; and to the exploration of the Columbia River by the same expedition for about a hundred miles above its mouth, a short time after Captain Gray had entered it, and the formal taking possession of the country drained by it, which Captain Gray, in a private ship, and who was in connection with a private enterprise, had not done. She claimed as far south as forty-two degrees, the northern line of California, which

Spain had reserved, thus cutting the United States off from any sea-coast on the Pacific.

So strong were the claims of each party that they found it impossible to settle the question; hence in 1818, soon after the United States had bought from Spain, Florida and her other rights, a treaty was made between Great Britain and the United States, by which joint occupancy was allowed for a period of ten years. In 1828 this was renewed for an indefinite period, to be terminated by either party on giving twelve months' notice. Various attempts were made to come to some agreement, but none were successful until 1846. Previous to that time each party had given up some of its claims. The United States were willing that the forty-ninth parallel of latitude to the ocean should be the dividing line, and Great Britain had become willing to follow the same line to the north-eastern branch of the Columbia, and thence down that river to the ocean.

Probably neither party was entirely free from wrong. By arbitration the line was at last settled where it now is, and we are not disposed to question the justice of that decision. If this is right, then the claims of the United States north of it were wrong, and the attempts of Great Britain to keep that portion of the country were right. Likewise the claims of the lat-

ter nation south of that line were wrong, and the efforts of the United States and her citizens to keep that part of the country were right. Let us now follow these latter claims of Great Britain, and the opposing efforts of the United States, to their final settlement, as missionary work had much to do in regard to the question.

The second period, that of joint occupancy, as far as the United States were concerned, fairly began with the treaty of 1818, but this could not last always. The United States was not disposed to press what she considered her rights too far, for fear that Great Britain would resist with war, and for a similar reason Great Britain did not dare to press too far what she claimed as her rights. Thus each nation was disposed to recognize in a measure the claim of the other, although there were prominent individuals in each nation who did not do so, as Senator Benton, who said: "The claims of Great Britain are nothing but a naked pretension founded on the double purpose of benefiting herself and injuring the United States; while Murray, an Englishman, in his British America (vol. 3, p. 93), said: "The Americans have no right whatever to the region northward of the Columbia River." Hence both nations were waiting for something to "turn up" to settle the matter.

And something did "turn up" on the Pacific coast, at first in a business way, having reference mainly to individual and company interests, but which after a time took on a national character.

In March, 1811, the Pacific Fur Company, with John Jacob Astor at its head, made the first permanent settlement in the country by building Astoria, for although in 1808 the Missouri Fur Company had built a post on the headwaters of Snake River, yet it was abandoned in 1810. In May, 1813, the North-western Fur Company entered, but finding the mouth of the Columbia occupied, they went up the river, and built Fort Okinagan. Owing to the war of 1812 with England, Astoria was sold to the North-western Fur Company in October, 1813, and the Americans retired, not soon again to obtain a foothold as traders or settlers.

The Hudson's Bay Company were at that time trading mainly in the country bordering on the waters which flow into Hudson's Straits. The North-western Company were also in the same country as well as on the Pacific coast, and there were continual feuds and quarrels between them, which at last resulted in such bloody battles that the British Government interfered, and in 1821, by act of Parliament, consolidated the two companies under the name of the Hudson's

Bay Company, the Pacific coast being at the same time added to their territory.

When that company began trading on the Pacific coast, they did what any other powerful company would probably have done, either American, British, or of another nation ; they tried to keep all other fur traders out of the country, and were successful.

About 1824 or 1825 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, composed of Americans, crossed the Rocky Mountains and trapped on the head-waters of Snake River, and in 1827 they determined to push the enterprise to the Pacific coast. J. Smith, one of the partners, led a party, by way of Santa Fe, to the Bay of San Francisco. From thence they proceeded northward along the coast, with the intention of reaching the Columbia River, but they were attacked by the Shasta Indians in the Umpqua valley, all but four of the party being killed and twenty thousand dollars' worth of furs lost.

In 1832 Captain Bonneville led an expedition of one hundred men into the trapping grounds of the Rocky Mountains, where they remained nearly three years; but he made nothing and retired.

The same year Mr. Nathaniel Wyeth came overland with a company to establish a salmon cannery at the mouth of the Columbia, but the

vessel which he had sent around with his goods was wrecked, and he returned East. Two years later he again came, having sent another vessel around Cape Horn, but for various reasons he found the business unprofitable, and sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company, satisfied that no company less powerful could long sustain itself. Other companies and expeditions, eleven of which are enumerated in Gray's History of Oregon, also made the attempt to trade in the country, but all failed, and with them ended American efforts to trade with the Indians on the north-west coast.

The few attempts to settle the country, which were made by the Americans, were equally disastrous.

President Jefferson, who sent Lewis and Clarke across the continent in 1804, accounted the establishment of American settlements as of great national importance. As early as 1817 Hall J. Kelly, of Boston, conceived the idea of colonizing Oregon, and after years of labor succeeded in obtaining from the Legislature of Massachusetts an act incorporating the "American Society for encouraging settlement in the Oregon Territory." Both British and American Fur Companies, however, discouraged attempts to settle the country; and although two young men were sent across the country, and

Mr. Kelly attempted to load a ship to come by water, this enterprise also failed because of the inaction of the general Government, and for the causes from which Captain Wyeth was unsuccessful. He then endeavored to open a trade between Mexico and Oregon, but in Mexico he lost nearly all his goods by the revenue officers, so that when he reached Oregon, he had so little left that he soon after retired, having lost a fortune of more than thirty thousand dollars.

The Hudson's Bay Company thus remained in actual possession. At first they evidently attempted, from business motives and in order to prevent competition and make money, to keep other companies out. As long as joint occupancy was likely to be the rule they were satisfied, for they had made it to mean occupancy by the Hudson's Bay Company. But they knew that this state of matters could not always last, and that one nation or the other would finally possess the country; hence, from a mere business point of view, even if they had no patriotic views in favor of their own government, it was natural they should desire that Great Britain should own the country.

They, therefore, began to work for this end. One way to secure it was to represent the country as of but little value, and a wagon road

to it from the East an impossibility. This was done in order that when the matter should come to be finally settled by treaty the United States might be led to care but little for the country.

That the country was valuable, not only as a fur-producing country, but also in mineral, agricultural and other resources, the Hudson's Bay Company was well aware at an early day; nevertheless it sought to suppress information on these points. Says Rev. C. Eells, in a letter dated May 28, 1866: "If I remember correctly, I had not been long in this country before the statement was made that gold had been found on the Columbia River, taken to England, made into a watch seal, brought back here, and worn by a gentleman connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. . . . . In the autumn or early winter of 1843, a German botanist was traveling with employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, and having had some knowledge of mining operations in Germany, he expressed to his fellow travelers the opinion that precious metals existed in a designated locality. He was particularly interrogated as to the reasons for such an opinion, and when they were satisfied that it was an intelligent conclusion, they replied: 'We know such to be the case from actual observation.'

"But while the resources of the country were

measurably appreciated, special effort was made to produce the impression that the country was of small value, and that much of it was worthless. In entire accordance with such representations, Chief Factor A. McDonald expressed himself distinctly and fully to me. He also gave it as his opinion, that if England should obtain the desired portion of Oregon (then including Washington Territory), it would be made over to the Hudson's Bay Company."

In 1839 Rev. J. S. Griffin and his missionary associates traveled from the western frontier to Fort Hall with wagons. They were told by agents of the Hudson's Bay Company that it was impracticable, if not impossible, to take their wagons to Walla Walla. Consequently teams and wagons were exchanged for pack animals and fixtures. In 1840 Rev. H. Clarke and other missionary laborers performed the same journey in like manner. At Fort Hall [in Eastern Idaho] they were induced to leave their wagons.

In 1842 the same misrepresentations were again successful with a small company of emigrants, led by Dr. E. White; and in 1843 it was tried again, as we shall afterwards see, with the emigration which was led by Dr. Whitman. Before Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding crossed the mountains in 1836, the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany had said that neither wagons or women could cross the Rocky Mountains.

Mr. John Dunn wrote a work on the Oregon Territory, about 1843 or 1844. He was for eight years a resident of the country, in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company; first for a year as assistant store-keeper at Vancouver, and then as trader and interpreter on the whole north-west coast; and, after that, he was in charge of Fort George, at Astoria.

In his preface he says: "On my return [to England], although I was, from my knowledge of those Americans that traded on the coast, or had squatted in the south-west part of Oregon, or have lately been employed by the company as trappers, prepared to hear any monstrous assumption of right set forth by the American populace, I did not expect that the respectable portion of the press, much less their functionaries or ministers of state, even up to the President, would echo the opinion of the rabble that controls the Legislature. But, to my surprise, I found that the subject was viewed by them through democratic spectacles. . . . . Hence, I imagined that a true and dispassionate account of the whole country would tend to place the whole question on its proper basis."

In giving this true and dispassionate account

he says: "As a *whole*, the country is not favorable to agriculture, though there are many fertile districts in it. It is, in a word, chiefly valuable for trade." The Americans know that it is a highway to China, "hence their extraordinary anxiety and exertions to effect a lodgment there. Hence, too, their exaggerated claims, their misrepresentations, contemptible bluster and impotent menaces, though they know it is valuable mainly for trade." Again. "Although several parties have penetrated into the Oregon Territory, from the United States, through the gorge, and over the towering heights of the Rocky Mountains, yet it may be safely asserted from the concurrent testimony of traders, trappers, and settlers, who have themselves passed these natural barriers, that the difficulties are so numerous and formidable, and the time necessary for the passage so long, that there is no secure, expeditious, or commodious track, which can ever be used as a highway, so as to afford facilities for an influx of emigrants overland.

"None but the wild and fearless free-trappers can clamber over these precipices, and tread these deserts with security..... It is true there have been published more favorable accounts, within the last year or two, by parties who have made the journey safely, and who encourage others to make a similar experiment, but

these accounts are mere bravado." And after these remarks he gives a terrible description of that portion of the country.

The Edinburgh *Review* for 1843 also says: "However the political question between England and the United States, as to the ownership of Oregon, may be decided, Oregon will never be colonized overland from the United States. The world must assume a new phase before the American wagons will make plain the road to the Columbia, as they have done to the Ohio."

Although as a general thing the English were inclined to acknowledge the rights of the United States south of the Columbia, yet efforts were made to obtain even that. As early as 1828 they took possession of the Willamette Falls, at Oregon City, with a view, as Sir George Simpson, their Governor-General, said, to the establishment of a British colony of their retired servants in the valley above, and this colony was settled about Champoeg or French Prairie. He also said, in 1841–2, that the colonists in the Willamette valley were British subjects, and that the English had no rivals but the Russians; that "the United States will never possess more than a nominal jurisdiction, nor long possess even that on the west side of the Rocky Mountains; and supposing the coun-

try to be divided to-morrow, to the entire satisfaction of the most unscrupulous patriot in the Union, I challenge conquest to bring my prediction and its own power to the test, by imposing the Atlantic tariff on the ports of the Pacific."

Chief Factor McDonald also said to Mr Eells, in 1842, that in fifty years the whole country would be filled with the descendants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dr. John McLaughlin, the Superintendent of the Company in Oregon from 1824, was generally kind to the Americans, and did much to assist the poor emigrants of 1842, 1843, and 1844, by loaning them seed, and furnishing them with provisions. For this, in 1844, he was called to account by the Directors of the Company, who insisted upon the enforcement of their stringent rule, to starve or drive every American from the country. But his heart was too tender for this, to see human beings, even if they were Americans, starving when he had under his control the means to help them, and so he resigned, telling them: "If such is your order, gentlemen, I will serve you no longer."

Probably Americans, if they had been in the same circumstances, would have done the same thing. In, fact the commission which finally settled the boundary, and condemned Great

Britain for claiming the country south of the present line, also condemned the Americans for claiming as far north as "fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, or fight." Still the passages quoted in regard to the value of the country, and the difficulty of crossing the continent, seem strange in the light of later years.

Thus it will be seen that the English had possession of the country as traders and as settlers, and by these representations were endeavoring to obtain it by treaty. This was the result of joint occupancy, when, in 1834, a new element arrived—the missionaries. When an old trapper saw Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding on their way across the mountains in 1836, he said: "There is something which the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company cannot drive out of the country," and his words were prophetic.

The missionaries did not come to the country to save it from falling into the hands of Great Britain. They had higher motives; love to God, and to savages with immortal souls. They were not, however, devoid of another virtue, which perhaps comes next to this—love of country. When they were in Oregon, they, as intelligent persons, could not help learning something of the value of the country, nor some of the efforts which were being made by the

Hudson's Bay Company to obtain it, and as patriotic men it was not strange that some of them should have strong feeling on the subject, and endeavor to counteract these efforts, especially when they believed it could be done, while at the same time their reputation for truth should not suffer.

Some statements made by Chief Factor McDonald to Rev. C. Eells have already been quoted. Mr. Eells also wrote: "In 1842, if I mistake not, the same gentleman asked me who, fifty years hence, would probably compose the inhabitants of this country? He answered the question himself, by saying substantially, 'The descendants of the Hudson's Bay Company.' Dr. Whitman said, with reference to the same class of persons (of mixed blood), 'fifty years hence they will not be found.' . . . . In those early days Dr. Whitman made in my hearing the following statement: 'There is no doubt that this country abounds in precious metals.' . . . He understood, with a good degree of correctness, apparently, that it was the plan of the Hudson's Bay Company to secure the country to the English Government. Undoubtedly he felt strongly with reference to this subject. At that time his missionary associates judged that he was disturbed to an unwarrantable degree.

The result has furnished accumulative evidence that there was sufficient reason for determined earnestness on his part. An unyielding purpose was formed by Dr. Whitman to go east. The mission was called together to consider whether or not its approval could be given to the proposed undertaking. Mr. Walker and myself were decidedly opposed, and we yielded only when it became evident that he would go, even if he had to become disconnected with the mission in order to do so."

According to a later statement of Mr. Eells, the call for this meeting was received at his station in September, 1842, with a statement of the proposed business. Promptly Mr. Walker and himself reported themselves at Dr. Whitman's station, and there were also present Rev. H. H. Spalding, Mr. W. H. Gray, and Dr. Whitman, all the male members of the mission. "After an extended discussion, it was voted unanimously that Dr. Whitman have the approval of the mission to attempt to make the journey as hereinbefore indicated. The controlling object was to make a desperate effort to save the country to the United States. It was also expected that the opportunity would be improved for the transaction of business relating to the mission. The fifth day of the following October was set as the day on which

Dr. Whitman would start. Letters were to be prepared and forwarded accordingly. Probably events transpiring in the intervening time hastened his departure, so that he left on the third of October."

Let us now turn and see what these events probably were. It has been seen that up to 1834 all efforts for colonizing the country, or trading in it, by the Americans, had failed, and that the Hudson's Bay Company were monarchs of all they surveyed. At that time the Methodists began their mission in the Willamette valley. The policy of this mission was somewhat different from that of the American Board, in that it used far more lay members. By May, 1840, when their last reinforcement arrived, twenty-six male workers had come to the country, of whom only nine were clergymen, the rest being farmers, mechanics, physicians, and the like, and the whole number connected with the mission, including women and children, was about seventy-five. This was quite a settlement of Americans, and numbered more than all other American efforts combined had been able to gather. There were also a number of American free trappers and adventurers, who had settled in the valley, and who, although they by no means agreed with the members of the mission on religious points, yet

did politically combine with them as a nucleus, and thus the Americans outnumbered the British settlers.

Here, then, was an entering wedge which the Hudson's Bay Company could not get rid of in any reasonable way. The members of the mission had not come to trade for furs, nor with the primary object of making a settlement, but to teach the Indians. The Company understood the dilemma in which they were placed—either to let a settlement of Americans remain, or in some way drive out a band of missionaries. It was discussed at their forts. They saw, says Mr. Dunn, that the mission, as far as the Indians were concerned, was likely to prove a failure, for they were fast disappearing, and that the result would be an American settlement. There were two parties at the forts, one of which thought that they ought to get rid of the Americans in some way, but the other, which was by far in the majority, knew that this could not be done so easily as it had been done in the case of rival fur companies, for the Americans had as good a right to remain, according to the treaty, as the British, and there was no reason to be given, which would look well, for driving out missionaries. Mr. Dunn, as a Protestant, thought that the English Societies ought to send missionaries to these In-

dians, and were to blame for neglecting them, but the Company knew that it would be as useless for English missionaries to enter the Willamette valley to labor for the Indians as it had been for the Methodists.

One way remained. It was to bring an emigration of British subjects to the country, and so outnumber the Americans. Both parties now began to see plainly that without actual occupation, the claims of neither nation amounted to much. To plant "thirty thousand rifles in the Valley of the Columbia" had long been advocated by Senator Benton, of Missouri, and a few others, as the surest ground of title. On the other hand, as late as 1844, an able writer in the *North British Review* earnestly called the attention of his countrymen to the imperative necessity of prompt organized efforts to colonize Oregon, and thus secure the title to the country; and he claimed that even then there was time, and only time, for the necessary action.

But previous to that time, in order as quickly as possible to counteract the settlements of Americans already in the Willamette, in 1841 an emigration was brought through from the Red River settlement, north of Minnesota. This was done by direction of their Governor-General, Sir George Simpson. It numbered about one hundred and fifty persons.

After Dr. Whitman had decided to go East, the immigration of 1842 arrived from the Western States. From it, and especially from Hon. A. L. Lovejoy, of that immigration, he learned that the United States was about to exchange Oregon, or a part of it, for a share in the cod-fisheries of New Foundland, because of representations made by the Hudson's Bay Company that the country was a barren waste. Knowing the value of the country, Dr. Whitman went to Fort Walla Walla (now Wallula), to learn about the proposed trade. He was informed that this was the expectation, and was reminded of the Red River immigration of the year previous, as a witness to that expectation. He soon returned home, engaged Mr. Lovejoy to accompany him on his trip, who was also anxious to see the trade stopped, and they started October 3d, 1842. Dr. Whitman saw that one way to counteract this movement, if no better one should present itself, was to induce an immigration of Americans to come to the country, which should be so large that the Hudson's Bay Company would relinquish all efforts in that direction, when it should see its own immigration far outnumbered. He also purposed to attend to business connected with the mission, though this was a subordinate affair, and it alone would not have induced him to go east.

A trip across the continent at any time in those days was a great undertaking; at the present time on horseback it is liable to meet with severe difficulties in the winter, for both stages and railroads are often stopped by snow-storms. Dr. Whitman's journey combined both the severity of the winter weather and the difficulties of that early day. Mr. Lovejoy, his surviving companion, in a letter dated February 14, 1876, has described some of the difficulties of that journey.

They rode to Fort Hall in eleven days. At that place Captain Grant, then in charge, in order to prevent Dr. Whitman from going East, falsely said that the Pawnees and Sioux were at war with each other, and it would be almost certain death for him to proceed. Determined to go, he changed to a more southern route; but the statement, although false, most likely proved to be salvation for Dr. Whitman, as, on account of the severity of the winter, he would probably have perished, had he traveled the contemplated route. Hence, they went by way of Salt Lake, Fort Winte, Fort Uncompagra, Taos and Santa Fe. Having left Fort Uncompagra in the Spanish country, says Mr. Lovejoy, "we took a new guide and started for Taos. After being out some four or five days, we encountered a terrific snow-storm,

which forced us to seek shelter in a deep ravine, where we remained snowed in for four days, at which time the storm had somewhat abated, and we attempted to make our way out upon the high lands, but the snow was so deep and the winds so piercing and cold we were compelled to return to camp and wait a few days for a change of weather. Our next effort to reach the highlands was more successful; but after spending several days wandering around in the snow without making much headway, our guide told us that the deep snow had so changed the face of the country that he was completely lost and could take us no further. This was a terrible blow to the doctor, but he was determined not to give it up without another effort. We at once agreed that the doctor should take the guide and return to Fort Uncompagra and get a new guide, and I remain in camp with the animals until he could return, which he did in seven days with our new guide, and we were now on our route again. Nothing of much import occurred but hard and slow traveling through deep snow, until we reached Grand River, which was frozen on either side about one-third across. Although so intensely cold, the current was so very rapid about one-third of the river in the centre was not frozen. Our guide thought it

would be dangerous to attempt to cross the river in its present condition, but the doctor, nothing daunted, was the first to take the water. He mounted his horse—the guide and myself shoved the doctor and his horse off the ice into the foaming stream. Away he went completely under water, horse and all, but directly came up, and after buffeting the rapid foaming current, he reached the ice on the opposite shore a long way down the stream. He leaped from his horse upon the ice, and soon had his noble animal by his side. The guide and myself forced in the pack animals and followed the doctor's example, and were soon on the opposite shore drying our frozen clothes by a comfortable fire. We reached Taos in about thirty days, suffered greatly from cold and scarcity of provisions. We were compelled to use mule meat, dogs, and such other animals as came in our reach. We remained at Taos a few days only, and started for Bent's and Savery's Fort, on the head-waters of the Arkansas River. When we had been out some fifteen or twenty days, we met George Bent, a brother of Gov. Bent, on his way to Taos. He told us that a party of mountain men would leave Bent's Fort in a few days for St. Louis, but said we would not reach the fort with our pack animals in time to join the party. The

doctor being very anxious to join the party so he could push on as rapidly as possible to Washington, concluded to leave myself and guide with the animals, and he himself, taking the best animal, with some bedding and a small allowance of provision, started alone, hoping by rapid travel to reach the fort in time to join the St. Louis party; but to do so he would have to travel on the Sabbath—something we had not done before. Myself and guide traveled on slowly and reached the fort in four days, but imagine our astonishment when, on making inquiry about the doctor, we were told that he had not arrived nor had he been heard of. I learned that the party for St. Louis was camped at the Big Cottonwood, forty miles from the fort, and at my request Mr. Savery sent an express, telling the party not to proceed any further until we learned something of Dr. Whitman's whereabouts, as he wished to accompany them to St. Louis. Being furnished by the gentlemen of the fort with a suitable guide, I started in search of the doctor, and traveled up the river about one hundred miles. I learned from the Indians that a man had been there who was lost and was trying to find Bent's Fort. They said they had directed him to go down the river and how to find the fort. I knew from their description it was the doctor.

I returned to the fort as rapidly as possible, but the doctor had not arrived. We had all become very anxious about him.

"Late in the afternoon he came in, very much fatigued and desponding; said that he knew that God had bewildered him to punish him for traveling on the Sabbath. During the whole trip he was very regular in his morning and evening devotions, and that was the only time I ever knew him to travel on the Sabbath.

"The doctor remained all night at the fort, starting early on the following morning to join the St. Louis party. Here we parted. The doctor proceeded to Washington. I remained at Bent's Fort until spring, and joined the doctor the following July near Fort Laramie on his way to Oregon, in company with a train of emigrants. He often expressed himself to me about the remainder of his journey and the manner in which he was received at Washington and by the Board for Foreign Missions at Boston. He had several interviews with President Tyler, Secretary Webster, and a good many members of Congress, Congress being in session at that time. He urged the immediate termination of the treaty with Great Britain relative to this country, and begged them to extend the laws of the United States over Oregon, and asked for liberal inducements to emi-

grants to come to this coast. He was very cordially and kindly received by the President and members of Congress, and without doubt, the doctor's interviews resulted greatly to the benefit of Oregon and to this coast."

"A gentleman—Dr. William Barrows, then a teacher in St. Louis, now of Boston, Secretary of the Massachusetts H. M. Society—who saw him clad in his buffalo and blanket robes, with frozen feet and hands, standing among the mountaineers in St. Louis on a morning late in February, 1843, resisting their entreaties to stop and tell the story of his winter trip, and then hasten on to Washington, though then ignorant of his aim, never forgot the impression of his energy and earnest purpose."*

When he reached Missouri, he learned that the danger of losing Oregon was very great; hence he rushed on without taking time to obtain a clean shirt or pair of pants, and soon, almost unconscious of his ridiculous appearance —an awkward, tall, spare-visaged, vigorous, off-hand sort of a man, with buckskin pants and English duffle overcoat, darkened by contact with camp fires, appeared before Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State. He found preliminary negotiations in progress between Sec-

* Dr. Atkinson's address before the Pioneer and Historical Society in 1876.

retary Webster and influential persons from England, to trade off Oregon, or at least a part of it, for Newfoundland. He found that Governor Simpson had made the same representations there as had been made on the Pacific coast in regard to the worthlessness of the country, and the difficulty of access, and although not an official representative of the English Government, but merely, as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, a lobbyist for the Government, so well had he succeeded, that Secretary Webster was convinced, and Dr. Whitman could not change him. He however next visited President Tyler, and with all his powers urged the same policy and arguments upon him, and at last was able to obtain from him a promise, not that the negotiations then in progress should be entirely broken off, but that they should be suspended until Dr. Whitman should show whether or not the emigrants could be led through. It is said, on good authority, that he spoke substantially as follows: "Dr. Whitman, since you are a missionary, I will believe you. The negotiations shall be suspended until you have time to lead the emigration through, and if you are successful I will use my influence to prevent the bargain from being made;" a noble tribute to the reliable reputation of missionaries. "That is

all I want," said Dr. Whitman. He then immediately sent back word to Missouri, and in some way had it published that he would aid those emigrants who wished to go to Oregon. Having learned that the Hudson's Bay Company had published that it was impracticable for wagons to reach the Columbia River, he still said he would aid them until they should finish the journey. There is but little, if any doubt, that on the strength of these statements, and others which he made in regard to the climate, soil, and value of the country, many were induced to start that year for Oregon.

He next attended to missionary business at Boston, after which he visited his relatives for a short time. It is said that he was met coldly by the secretaries of the Missionary Society, as having left his post without instructions, and having involved the Board in unnecessary expense, for they did not realize, as he did, the importance of the journey. This reception he could not afterwards forget, but the Society, as well as the missionaries on the Pacific coast, who opposed the effort, have since gladly acknowledged that they were wrong and he was right, and have given him the honor due to such labors.

By May he was on his way back. He overtook the emigration of about eight hundred

and seventy-five people, including the women and children, with one hundred and eleven wagons, and about two thousand horses and cattle, near the Platte River, and nobly did he fulfill his promise to them. The work, however, was very great. "Those who saw him overtaking the emigrants whom he had encouraged to start, at the North Platte River in June, 1843, and bid them throw away their skin boats, prepared for crossing, and saw him for three days crossing and recrossing that wide stream, swimming his horse to find the best ford, and at last heard him order the one hundred or more teams and wagons to be chained together and driven in one long line to ford for two miles that river swollen by spring floods, cheering the drivers, permitting not a moment's halt, lest they should sink in the quicksands, will never forget the man and the deed,"* as some who attempted to have their own way at that time now testify.

Says Hon. J. W. Nesmith, late member of Congress from Oregon, who was in the emigration of that year: "I regard him [Dr. Whitman] as a quiet, unassuming man, and of great purity of character. He was of a powerful physical organization, and possessed a great

* Dr. Atkinson's address before the Pioneer Historical Society in 1876.

and good heart, full of charity and courage, and utterly destitute of hypocrisy, shams and effeminacy, and always terribly in earnest. While with us he was clad entirely in buckskin. The doctor spent much of his time in hunting out the best route for the wagons, and would plunge into streams in search of practical fords, regardless of the depth or temperature of the water, and sometimes, after the fatigue of a hard day's march, would spend much of the night in going from one party to another to minister to the sick. His moral example was of the highest character."

Often he performed two days' work in one, riding here and there, searching for the best way, and leaving bits of paper in different places saying, "this way" or "that way."

When they reached Fort Hall, where wagons had in previous years been traded to the Hudson's Bay Company for pack animals, because of the representations of that Company, at an opportune moment, while Dr. Whitman was absent from camp, the same representations were made to the emigrants. They were told that they must either trade off their wagons or go to California. "For instance," says Gen. Joel Palmer, of that year's emigration, "the two crossings of Snake River, and the crossing of the Columbia and other smaller streams, were

represented as being attended with great danger; also that no company heretofore attempting the passage of these streams succeeded but with the loss of men, from the violence and rapidity of the currents. In addition to the above, it was asserted that three or four tribes of Indians in the middle regions had combined for the purpose of preventing our passage through their country. In case we escaped destruction at the hands of the savages, that a more fearful enemy, famine, would attend our march, as the distance was so great that winter would overtake us before making the Cascade Mountains. On the other hand, as an inducement to pursue the California route, we were informed of the shortness of the route when compared with that to Oregon, as also of the many other superior advantages it possessed."*

When Dr. Whitman returned to camp he found them in a sad state—some in tears, and some almost ready to accept the statements made. At this juncture he is said to have addressed them substantially as follows: "My countrymen, you have trusted me thus far; believe me now; I will take your wagons to the Columbia River." They did so, and again started over an unknown wagon road.

On account of the need of his professional

* Gray's History of Oregon, page 367.

services in the mission, it became necessary for the doctor to leave the emigrants at Fort Hall and proceed ahead; but he was able to search for the wagon road and leave word on paper where it was best to go. Istikus, a Cayuse chief, with other Indians, was returning from the buffalo country, and Dr. Whitman recommended him as guide. Says Hon. J. W. Nesmith: "He was a faithful old fellow, perfectly familiar with all the trails and topography of the country from Fort Hall to the Dalles, and, although not speaking a word of English, and no one in our party a word of Cayuse, he succeeded by pantomime in taking us over the roughest wagon road I ever saw." The Indians were really better acquainted with the passes through the Blue Mountains than the doctor was, and the wagons rolled through to his station

It was now necessary for them to be refreshed from the mission, and as Dr. Whitman's mill had been burned during his absence, the flour for the emigrants was transported a hundred and ten miles by Rev. H. H. Spalding from his station.

Dr. Whitman also furnished them a guide to the Dalles free of cost, and they proceeded on their way rejoicing.

Extravagant statements have been made of

the confidence which the emigrants learned to have in Dr. Whitman before they reached their journey's end. It is reported that one man said that they were so ready to trust him, that if he had told them to drive up a fir tree, he believed they would have made the attempt. Mr. Jesse Applegate presented him with a cow, as a testimonial for his services at the crossing of the north fork of the Platte. Says Mr. Applegate: "It is no disparagement to others to say, that to no other individual are the emigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman. His constant advice, which we knew was based on a knowledge of the road before us, was 'travel, *travel*, TRAVEL—nothing else will take you to the end of your journey.'"

This emigration, outnumbering all of the Hudson's Bay Company's employees and Red River immigrants, showed our Government that an immigration could reach the Columbia, and saved the country to the United States. The next year negotiations were re-opened between the two countries, but no offer was made by the United States to give Great Britain anything south of the forty-ninth parallel.

Dr. Whitman did more than he promised, for, previous to the time when the emigration started, he refused to be their guide; but only prom-

ised to aid them as he could—not wishing to take upon himself the responsibility of a guide; but after he overtook them, he was, in fact, their guide through most of the difficult places. General John C. Fremont, whom President Tyler sent out to make and protect the road for this emigration, came, but found the path opened by the wagons, and protected by the vigilance of Dr. Whitman.

Dr. Whitman evidently considered the success of this immigration as settling the destiny of Oregon, for he wrote to his Missionary Board, April 1st, 1847: "It may easily be seen what would have become of the American interests in the country, had the immigration of 1843 been as disastrous as were the immigrations of 1845 and 1846," both of those years his route having been abandoned for another.

Says Judge William Strong: "The arrival of the emigration of 1843 may be considered the turning point in the history of Oregon. It gave to the American population of the Territory control of its civil affairs; attracted the attention and excited the interest of the citizens and public authorities of the United States to this then almost unknown land, and thus contributed materially to the determination of the boundary question. It made Oregon of too great importance to permit diplomacy to trifle

it away. It brought to the valley a large band of improved horses and cattle. It afforded the settlers means of making themselves at home in the country, and filled their hearts with hopes at being again surrounded by American citizens."

During subsequent years the hands and heart of Dr. Whitman were also full to aid the poor emigrant. A generosity fully equal to the golden rule was usually practiced, so that sometimes by the beginning of winter he found himself almost without supplies, and was obliged to send to the station among the Nez Perces, a hundred and ten miles distant, and have flour for his station packed to it. Those too poor to proceed further sometimes wintered with him, so that at the time of his massacre there were seventy persons at his station, fifty-three of whom were immigrants, and seven more immigrant children, whose parents died on the journey in 1844, and whom he had adopted into his family. On account of this kindness the citizens of the Willamette were probably more ready to volunteer, in order to avenge his death, than they would have done for that of almost any other person on the Pacific coast.

When, previous to his journey East in 1842, he was urged by his friends to consider the

perils of the contemplated journey, he said: "My life is of but little moment if I can but save this country for the American people." Immediately after his return to this coast he said to Rev. C. Eells that he very much wished that he could be in Washington during the winter of 1843–4, as he felt that he could then accomplish far more in preventing the sale of Oregon than he had already done.

While these events were transpiring, others looking to the same end were occurring in the Willamette valley; for few, if any, of the settlers there realized the objects Dr. Whitman had in going east, if they even knew of the journey.

The shape that these events took was the organizing of a provisional government. Notwithstanding the fact that the English Government was disposed to grant to the United States the country south of the Columbia, and the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, believing that this river would be the line, if Great Britain should be obliged to make a division, had built their headquarters at Vancouver, on the northern bank of the river, yet there were some among them who were determined, if possible, to obtain possession of the country south of that river. This will be seen by remembering that they had taken possession

of the land at the Willamette Falls (now Oregon City); that they had a settlement at French Prairie, above Oregon City, and that their Governor-General, Sir George Simpson, had made a statement defying the American Government to establish the Atlantic tariff in Pacific ports. Three points the Company insisted upon, as far as they were able under the treaty, with the Methodist missionaries, viz.: that they should not attempt to trade with the Indians; that they should confine themselves to missionary and agricultural pursuits; and that they should remain south of the Columbia River. Not that the servants of the Company confined themselves to the country north of that river, for in 1831 they had begun to settle in the Willamette valley.

The forming of the provisional government in 1843 by the people of Oregon, during the summer previous to the arrival of the great immigration which was led by Dr. Whitman—three years before the final treaty was made which settled the boundary line, and six years before the first Governor appointed by the United States authorities arrived—was very effective in saving the country south of the Columbia.

Many of the early trappers and settlers who had never been connected with the Methodist

mission, worked nobly for this object, in connection with the missionaries; yet that mission was the centre around which all these efforts at first crystallized, and without which little, if anything, would probably have been accomplished at that early day.

It was a fact, says Mrs. Victor in her River of the West, that a mission had been established in the Willamette with all the means and appliances of a settlement, independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, that induced the American mountain men to remain and settle upon farms. They looked to the mission to become to them what Vancouver was to the Canadians—a supply station, and although they were somewhat disappointed, perhaps, in their expectations, yet they did not find it out until they were settled.

Previous to 1840 the number of persons in that region was so small that nothing seemed to be required, yet as early as 1837 Mr. Lee had been successful in one way, in freeing both the mission and the other settlers from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company—it was from the cattle monopoly. Previous to 1837 the company owned all the cattle in that portion of the country, and they would sell to no one outside of the company. They would only loan their cows to the settlers in the spring to be

milked, and to be returned in the fall with the increase. Mr. Lee determined, if possible, to break up this monopoly, by sending to California for cattle. Captain Slocum, of the United States Navy, was in the Columbia River at that time, and offered to take any persons, free, to California, who might wish to go for cattle. Accordingly a meeting was called at the mission house to form a cattle company; various amounts were subscribed, and two men were sent for the cattle. They returned in 1837, losing some of the cattle on the way by the Indians, who attempted to capture all of them, but they were beaten back, and 600 head were driven into the Willamette valley, and distributed to various individuals, according to the amount which each one had subscribed. "This successful enterprise," says Rev. G. Hines, "which laid the foundation for a rapid accumulation of wealth to the settlers, was mainly due to the efforts of Rev. J. Lee."

In 1840 a petition, signed by Rev. D. Leslie, of the mission, and others, was sent to Congress, which stated the weak condition of the American settlers, and their dangers, the resources of the country, and the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to keep possession; and praying that a territorial government might be extended over them.

At that time there were of all sexes and ages in the country, 137 Americans, 91 of whom were connected with Indian missions.

The same year, owing to the death of Ewing Young, one of the settlers, who left a large unsettled estate in the country and without heirs, some kind of laws became necessary. Accordingly, in February, 1841, a meeting was called for the purpose of forming a government for Oregon. This, as far as known, was the first public meeting held to take the subject into consideration. It was held at the house of the Methodist mission. Rev. J. Lee was chairman, and G. Hines secretary, both of whom were missionaries. Some officers were chosen, as a Supreme Judge, Clerk of Courts, Recorder, Sheriff and Constables; Dr. J. L. Babcock, of the mission, being chosen to fill the first named office. A committee of nine, of whom three were members of the mission, was appointed to draft a constitution and code of laws; after which the meeting adjourned until June following. They met at that time, but having done nothing, they were instructed to meet again in August, and in the meantime to consult with Commodore Wilkes, of the United States exploring squadron, who had by that time arrived. Many settlers were, however, opposed to the organization of the government—Commodore Wilkes

thought it unwise. In the meantime the estate was settled, and the subject allowed to slumber.

The Commodore's reasons for his advice were that he, as well as many others, knew that the British interests in the country felt threatened by his presence, and he feared that if it was followed by an organization, action might be precipitated for which our government was not prepared, and which might provoke an enmity against the settlers, for which they in their weak condition were not ready.

In 1842 the subject was revived, but about that time Dr. E. White—who first came to the country in connection with the Methodist mission, as physician, in 1837, and remained until 1841, when he resigned and returned east—arrived with a commission as United States Sub-Indian Agent. He was the first United States officer for the Pacific coast. In 1842 he conducted the second party of emigrants, numbering one hundred and thirty-seven persons, across the plains, for the purpose of settling in Oregon. Says Hon. M. Crawford of the emigration of that year: "It was as a missionary that Dr. White gained his knowledge of Oregon, which induced him to obtain from our Government a kind of roving commission as sub-agent of Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. His presence gave us confidence, se-

cured to us consideration from the traders, and above all enabled us to have a guide and interpreter from Fort Laramie to Fort Hall, without whom we could not have accomplished the journey." That emigration, it will be remembered, brought to Dr. Whitman the news that the United States was about to give up much of Oregon. Gen. Lovejoy, a member of it, was Dr. Whitman's companion on his return that winter, and its success, although it brought no wagons this side of Fort Hall, had great influence in encouraging Dr. Whitman in his efforts in 1843.

The fact of the appointment of Dr. White led some to hope that Government was about to protect her citizens in Oregon, while some also thought that by virtue of his office, he might act somewhat in the capacity of Governor; hence nothing more was done by the citizens that year in regard to a government.

By the next year, however, it was found that while he had authority over Indians, he had none over the whites; and as Indian difficulties seemed to thicken and threaten the settlement, another meeting was called, February 2d, 1843, at the Oregon Institute of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. J. L. Babcock was chairman, and Mr. W. H. Willson secretary of this meeting, both of whom were missionaries. The

meeting was called to take into consideration means for protecting their cattle and swine from the surrounding wolves, bears and panthers; but it served to prepare the way for another, which was held on March 4th, when suitable bounties were offered for the killing of these animals, and at its close a committee of twelve was appointed, to consider the propriety of taking measures for securing the civil and military protection of the colony. This was unexpected to some, while others were prepared for it. Hon. W. H. Gray, who had just left the mission of the American Board, was a leading spirit throughout the whole affair. Just as they were ready to adjourn, he said: "No one would question for a moment this was right. This was just and natural protection for our property, in animals liable to be destroyed by wolves, bears and panthers. How is it, fellow citizens, with you and me, and our wives and children? Have we any organization on which we can rely for mutual protection? Is there any power or influence in the country sufficient to protect us and all that we hold dear, from the worse than wild beasts that threaten and occasionally destroy our cattle? . . . . . Common sense, prudence, and justice to ourselves, demand that we act consistently with the principles that we have commenced. We have

mutually and unitedly agreed to defend and protect our cattle and domestic animals;" whereupon he moved that the above-mentioned committee be appointed, and this was done. The committee reported May 3d, 1843, in favor of a Provisional Government. In this also Mr. Gray was the leader. His fertility of resources were relied upon to combat the open hostility of the Hudson's Bay Company and Catholics; and to win over, if possible, to the support of the contemplated measures, the Methodist missionaries, who at that time were hardly ready to sympathize with what they called extreme views.

There were three positions then taken in regard to this subject, which were favored by as many different parties. Some favored no change; some an independent government, and some a temporary government, to last until the United States should settle the matter by treaty, organize a regular territorial government, and appoint the proper officers. A majority of the committee favored the last position, and so reported; but when the final vote was taken at this public meeting, after much confusion, their report was adopted by only two majority, the vote standing fifty-two to fifty, so evenly were the parties divided. While many others helped to gain this result, and nothing should be said

to detract from the honor due to them, yet it is plain that it would not have been carried at this time had it not been for the presence and influence of persons connected with the mission. After the vote, the opposing Canadians withdrew, when some officers were elected, among them W. H. Willson, of the Methodist mission, as first Treasurer of Oregon. A legislative committee of nine was appointed. They met at Oregon City, May 16, in a building gratuitously furnished by the mission, three members of the mission voluntarily engaging to provide, at their own expense, for the boarding of this committee.

In July following, an executive committee of three was elected instead of one Governor, whose duties were to be much the same as those of that officer. Mr. A. Beers, of the Methodist mission, was chosen as one of the three. These were elected annually during the two following years, when the plan was changed, and a Governor was elected in 1845—Mr. George Abernethy, a gentleman who came to the country as steward of the Methodist mission. He was chosen for two years, and re-elected in 1847, serving until 1849, when he was superseded by General Joseph Lane, the first Governor appointed by United States authority.

The boundary question was settled in 1846,

but no immediate action in behalf of Oregon was taken by Congress. In the spring of 1847, Dr. Whitman went to Oregon City, and in an interview with Judge J. Q. Thornton, spoke freely of the perils of his mission station, and said that he believed that nothing short of the speedy establishment of a Territorial Government to supersede the Provisional Government would save himself and mission from murder by the savages. He urged Judge Thornton to yield to solicitations he had received to go at once to Washington on behalf of the people and Provisional Government. This interview decided him, and when Dr. Whitman was about to return to his mission, Judge Thornton promised that he would do as desired if Gov. Abernethy would furnish the necessary letter to the President. In October he went to the Governor, resigned his office as Supreme Judge, received the necessary letter, and went by water, arriving in Washington in May, 1848. Soon after his departure, however, in November, Dr. Whitman and others were killed, and because of this massacre, Colonel Joseph Meek was quickly hurried off also to Washington across the continent. He arrived only a week or two after Judge Thornton, to lay before Congress the necessity of the immediate protection of the Territory. The two worked to-

gether, whereupon action, which had slowly dragged along on account of the slavery question, was hastened, and an act of Congress, approved August 14th, 1848, organized a Territorial Government for Oregon.

True, during the later years the influence of the Methodist missionaries decreased, because of the number of emigrants who arrived, yet in the earlier days of the plans for organization, they helped very greatly. It was their settlement which drew into the Willamette valley the trappers and travelers as settlers: Dr. White, a returned missionary, brought to the country in 1842 an immigration of 137 persons, with wagons, to Fort Hall; and Dr. Whitman, another missionary, brought the first immigrant wagons through, and an immigration which settled the question of possession by settlement; the Methodist mission aided materially in forming the Provisional Government; Dr. White was the first United States officer for the country, and Mr. Abernethy, another missionary, was the first Governor.

Others besides missionaries and missionary societies have been ready to acknowledge the benefits of mission work to the country.

Honorable Elwood Evans, for a time acting Governor of Washington, does not agree wholly with the writer in regard to all that Dr. Whit-

man accomplished, yet in a letter to Rev. H. H. Spalding he says: "The American missionaries were the apostles paving the way for American occupancy; the avant couriers of Oregon Americanization. Nor need you fear that the missionary heroines, who proved that women could go to Oregon (overland) and live and die there, will ever be forgotten." In a letter to the writer he also adds, with reference to these same women, that "was the demonstration that Oregon could be reached overland from the Western States. That settled the Oregon controversy in favor of the United States earlier and more surely than any other circumstance." And again, "We zealously unite in ascribing to that visit [of Dr. Whitman] the greatest results in the future of Oregon—the grandest service to that large train—the importance that flowed from his successful leading of that train through to the Columbia, with their wagons. Those results, those conclusions, are glorious to Dr. Whitman's memory."

Says Judge A. E. Wait, then editor of the *Oregon Spectator*, in an issue of that paper dated July 13, 1848: "We have seen a disposition to undervalue the objects and efforts of the missionaries. This is wrong, and a moment's reflection will satisfy all of the injustice of im-

puting selfish motives to the missionaries. The importance of the country as described by them brought the citizens of Oregon here. We can readily see what brought the Hudson's Bay Company here. But what brought the missionaries, who, with their lives in their hands, led the way, with their wives, into the country, when it was almost unknown, and entirely unappreciated. It would appear that there is but one answer. It was the high and holy estimation which they placed upon the importance of souls, and the command of their Great Master in Heaven."

While Mrs. Victor, in her River of the West, does not always favor the Methodist mission, yet she says of it: "Here was a colony, an American colony, stolen in under the very nose of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . . They builded better than they knew. They furnished the means by which an American colony established itself on Oregon soil; and being once established, it could not be dislodged. It was the logical result of unforeseen circumstances. A few religious enthusiasts had undertaken what they could not perform—the christianizing of a low order of savages. They found themselves in a distant and beautiful country, where it was easier to remain than to return. Homes were growing up around

them; children were born; it was a mild and salubrious climate; why should they desire to quit it?"

About 1869 hundreds of persons in Oregon and Washington Territory, signed papers in which they stated that they believed that Dr. Whitman saved at least a portion of Oregon as it was in 1842 to the United States. Among these were, G. F. Whitworth, then Chief Clerk of the Indian Department of Washington Territory; C. H. Hale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, W. T.; C. A. Huntington, Clerk in the Indian Department, W. T.; S. D. Howe, Assessor of Internal Revenue, W. T.; S. Garfielde, Surveyor-General, and afterwards Delegate to Congress; T. W. Reed, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, W. T.; C. C. Hewitt, Chief Justice of the Territory; E. S. Smith, Secretary of the Territory; and L. F. Grover, Ex-Congressman, and afterwards Governor and United States Senator from Oregon. About the same time resolutions to the same effect were also passed by the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyteries of the Presbyterian and United Presbyterian Churches, and the General Associations of the Congregational, Baptist and Christian Churches of Oregon and Washington Territory.

On the other hand, Governor Abernethy has

testified that the Catholic priests and Hudson's Bay Company opposed the settlement of the country and the formation of the provisional government.

The remark has been made that there is no record at Washington of any proceedings which show that Mr. Webster was about to trade Oregon for the cod-fishery of Newfoundland, and that his friends would not allow such statements to be made. But it is not claimed by Dr. Whitman's friends that there was any official action at that time; but there is abundant evidence to show that Governor Simpson was working in an unofficial way for the accomplishment of this object, and that it was likely to prove effective, so that when it should come up officially between the two countries, Secretary Webster would be so committed to this line of action that he could not retract; and thus Dr. Whitman's journey really saved much of Oregon to the United States.

In accordance with this, the New York *Independent*, of January, 1870, said: "A personal friend of Mr. Webster's, a legal gentleman, and with whom he conversed on the subject several times, remarked to the writer of this article: 'It is safe to assert that our country owes it to Dr. Whitman and his associate missionaries, that all of the territory west of the

Rocky Mountains and south as far as the Columbia River, is not now owned by England and held by the Hudson's Bay Company.'"

English testimony is just as explicit. Mr. Dunn says especially of the Methodist mission: "The Americans, who had already made many attempts to effect a lodgment in the country, on every occasion failed, either from their want of skill, or of capital, or integrity in their dealings with the natives, ... having now seen that a fair opportunity of securing a possession was opened to them under the Company's shelter, bethought them of dispatching missionaries," ostensibly to teach the Indians, but they, according to their "true purpose, became resident farmers, teaching, it is true, the natives the great elements of Christianity and forms of prayer, but using their gratuitous labor for the cultivation of their fields." They, he also says, "proclaimed abroad their success, and a few adventurers came, some as farmers, others in the guise of missionaries."

Again, he adds: "The American missionaries are used by the American government, and fairly used by the American writers, as political instruments in exercising their influence with the natives to attach them to republican institutions, and to make them the passive recipients of all sorts of anti-British antipathies; and

thus the Americans hope to recover the position in the country which they lost by their want of integrity or energy as traders. This is well worth the consideration of the British government and the British missionary societies."

A writer in the *British Colonial Magazine* also says: "By a strange and unpardonable oversight of the local officers, missionaries from the United States were allowed to take religious charge of the population, and these artful men lost no time in introducing such a number of their countrymen as reduced the influence of the British settlers to complete insignificance."

And says Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D.D., in the *Missionary Herald*, of March, 1869: "Having then become involved in the Mexican war, General Fremont was sent in 1847 to co-operate with our Commodore, and seize California, which was done. In the settlement with Mexico, our Government purchased the conquered province of California. The connection of events is such as to show that our securing the actual possession of Oregon by emigrants and a provisional government led to the general survey and the final conquest and purchase of California, though sectional and sporadic efforts had previously been made to secure this prov-

ince. The securing of Oregon preceded that of California somewhat as a cause precedes an effect; the one hinges upon the other, after which the golden grains there concealed were uncovered, so that fifty millions year after year were added to the world's currency, and means provided to carry on the national contest for life from 1861 to 1865."

"What great events on seeming trifles turn!
"To-day the fires that on our hearthstones burn
"Had not been lighted; and our banners bright,
"Bright as the day, and beautiful as night,
"Would not to-day above yon proud pile float;
"Nor would the cannon's roar or bugle's note
"Proclaim this land our own, upon the day
"To freedom consecrate, if far away,
"And long ago, those red men had not sought
"In simple faith to know what God had wrought.'

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* A. T. Hawley.

CHAPTER V.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, EDUCATION, MORALS AND RELIGION.

MISSIONS brought the first printing press to the north-west coast of the United States; printed the first book, and established the first collegiate institution in the same region; and have contributed largely to the literature, science, morals and religion of the country.

Printing.—In 1839 the Oregon mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions received from the native mission church at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, under the same Board, a small printing press, with the requisite types, furniture and paper, which, with some other articles donated at the same time, were valued at four hundred and fifty dollars. The health of the wife of one of the printers at the Sandwich Islands, Mr. E. O. Hall, necessitating a temporary change, he came with it to begin the work, and to give the necessary instruction to others. The press was immedi-

ately taken to Lapwai, where it was set up, and a small elementary book of twenty pages was printed, the first printing known to have been done west of the Rocky Mountains. The work was continued on a small scale for years. The press was afterwards taken to the Tualatin Plains, where a paper, *The Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, was published on it by Rev. J. S. Griffin, the second newspaper in Oregon. The press is now at Salem, in the historical rooms of Oregon.

Literature.—The missionaries have contributed largely to the history and description of the country.

Rev. S. Parker, of the American Board, published in 1838 a duodecimo volume of 400 pages, which reached a fourth edition in 1844. This is a journal of his tour in 1835–6–7 across the Rocky Mountains and through Oregon, and contains a description of the geography, geology, climate and productions of the country, and the number, manners and customs of the natives, and was illustrated by a new map of the country. This work, at the time of its publication, was highly recommended by Rev. H. Humphrey, D.D., President of Amherst College; E. Hitchcock, D.D., then Professor in the same College, and afterwards its President; Rev. J. Richards, D.D., Professor in Auburn

Theological Seminary; Prof. B. Silliman, of Yale College; Noah Webster, D.D., LL.D., author of Webster's Dictionary, and Chancellor Kent.

Rev. Gustavus Hines published in 1851 a duodecimo volume of 437 pages, entitled "An Exploring Expedition to Oregon—its history, condition and prospects—containing a description of the country, its geography, climate and productions, with personal adventures among the Indians during a residence of the author."

In 1868 the same author published another duodecimo volume of 326 pages, entitled "Oregon and its Institutions, comprising a full history of the Willamette University," and in it he devotes more than a hundred pages to a description of the country.

In 1844 Rev. D. Lee and F. H. Frost published another duodecimo volume, with the title of "Ten Years in Oregon."

Doctor Elijah White's "Ten Years in Oregon," a duodecimo volume of 430 pages, was published in 1850. It describes the travels and adventures of Doctor E. White and lady, west of the Rocky Mountains, and contains also a brief history of the missions and settlements of the country, the origin of the Provisional Government, number and customs of the Indians, incidents witnessed while traveling

and residing in the Territory, and a description of the soil, the productions and climate.

In 1854 Carlton and Phillips, of the Sunday-school Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, published a duodecimo volume of 229 pages, entitled "Sketches of Mission Life among the Indians of Oregon," and the material for the work was furnished by H. P. Brewer, a lay missionary under the M. E. Missionary Board in Oregon for nine years.

Hon. W. H. Gray, of the American Board, published in 1870 an octavo volume of 624 pages, which gives a history of Oregon from 1792 to 1849.

While others have also written some volumes in regard to the coast, yet they are largely indebted to the early missionaries for a portion of their history—both Judge J. Q. Thornton and Mrs. F. F. Victor having drawn valuable information from these sources.

Rev. H. H. Spalding published, about 1845, a small hymn-book in the Nez Perces language, 32mo; and later, a translation of the Gospel of Matthew, which was afterwards revised, and in 1871 published by the American Bible Society as a 12mo volume of 130 pages.

James Reuben, a Nez Perce Indian, with the assistance of Rev. Mr. Ainslee, has translated the Gospel of John into that language.

Besides these books, a number of pamphlets have been published.

Between 1839 and 1847 there were printed at the mission press at Lapwai an elementary school book of 20 pages in Nez Perces; another book of 52 pages, of which 800 copies were published, in the same language; another small one, and some simple laws (likewise in the Nez Perces language), which were adopted through the influence of Dr. E. White, sub-Indian Agent; and a small book or pamphlet of 16 pages in the Spokane or Flathead language, prepared by Revs. E. Walker and C. Eells.

Rev. H. H. Spalding compiled a defense of Dr. Whitman and the early missionaries, in an octavo pamphlet of 81 pages, which was published about 1870 at Washington, by a vote of Congress. This was prepared in answer to an attack on those missionaries by Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, which had been previously published by authority of Congress, in Executive Document number 38.

Hon. W. H. Gray delivered an address before the Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon, on the early history of the country, in 1877, which was published by that Society in a pamphlet of 12 pages; and in 1879 he published an octavo pamphlet of 32 pages on the Moral and Religious Aspect of the Indian Question.

In 1875 Rev. M. Eells prepared an account of the manners and customs of the Twana Indians of Washington Territory, which was published in 1877 in Major F. V. Hayden's Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories—an octavo pamphlet of 58 pages; and in 1878 he also published a 16mo pamphlet of 16 pages, containing mainly hymns in the Chinook jargon language and their translation. In 1879 he furnished to Major Powell a more extended account of the Twana, Clallam, and Chemakum Indians, and has written a history of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington Territory—an octavo pamphlet of 124 pages, and a memorial sketch of the life of Rev. S. H. Marsh, D.D., first President of Pacific University—an octavo pamphlet of 58 pages. The last two were published in 1881.

Science.—Says Carl Ritter, the eminent geographer: "The *Missionary Herald* is where the reader must look to find the most valuable and instructive documents that have been sent home by the agents of any society, and where a rich store of scientific, historical and antiquarian details may be seen. . . . . The *Herald* is a medium through which a great amount of scientific knowledge goes into christian and popular reading. Scientific journals quote freely from this publication." The Paci-

fic coast missionaries have contributed a share to this scientific knowledge.

Geography.—A part of what they have done in this direction may be seen by a reference to the list of books given in this chapter under the head of literature, especially those of Messrs. Parker, Hines, White, Brewer and Gray—while their letters and those of the other missionaries to their home boards, and published in their missionary magazines, added to that knowledge. Few persons except fur trappers and traders were here before them, and the Hudson's Bay Company held possession. Few, if any, of the common traders or trappers had the ability to write a description of the country for publication, while the intelligent men of the Hudson's Bay Company did not wish to have the resources of the country described; hence, I have been unable to find a single book written by any person of that company previous to the advent of the missionaries, although at that time they had traded in the country for twenty-two years. Hence, Hon. J. Q. A. Thornton, in his Oregon and California, wrote: "It is sufficient to say that the facts respecting the character of the country which the missionaries and these emigrants communicated to their friends and the public in the States, caused great numbers to turn their eyes to the interesting, beau-

tiful, yet distant country of Oregon." (Vol. I, page 23.)

Geology.—Professor Silliman, of Yale College, acknowledged that he was indebted to a missionary, whose name is not given (Mr. Parker, probably), for his early knowledge of the basaltic columns on the Columbia River. In the *Missionary Herald* of October, 1837, is a description by Mr. Spalding, of the geological structure and soda fountains of the country along the route; and Mr. Parker, in his work, besides noticing the geological structure in various places, devotes a chapter of fifteen pages to the subject, and gives a full page illustration of the basaltic columns on the Columbia. Says the *New Yorker*, of May, 1838: "Mr. Parker's observations on the geography and the geology of the country through which he passed are alone richly worth twice the cost of the volume."

Ethnology.—During the past twenty or thirty years this branch of science has attracted the attention of some of the best minds of the country. The missionaries have contributed their share to the description of the manners and customs of the Indians. Mr. Spalding wrote about the flat heads of the Indians in the *Missionary Herald* of 1837; Mr. Gray described the various tribes on the Columbia and its

tributaries, as well as along the route from the east; Mr. Smith, in the same magazine of 1840, speaks of the objects of worship of the Nez Perces; the September number, for 1843, contains from the pen of Dr. Whitman quite a full account of the superstitions, medicine men and religious customs of the Cayuses; Mr. Parker devotes three chapters in his book to a description of the Indians; the works of Messrs. Hines, White and Gray, also describe them at considerable length; and Mr. M. Eells has described the Twanas, Clallams and Chemakums.

Language.—A comparison of languages is a science esteemed of great value. Missionaries do not publish works in the Indian languages for the sake of the whites, but our best scientific men study them in the cause of science. Hon. George Gibbs, in 1863, published a Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, which is the best extant. In it he speaks of sixteen published works, which, by the vocabularies in them, had aided him in his dictionary, and the first of these was Mr. Parker's Exploring Tour, and the seventh, Lee and Frost's Ten Years in Oregon. Mr. Parker's work also contains a vocabulary of the Nez Perces language of 140 words, of the Klikitat language of 134 words; and of 118 words in the Calapooia language. In the *Mis-*

sionary Herald of 1839, Rev. A. B. Smith describes that of the Nez Perces. Miss S. L. McBeth, missionary among the latter tribe, had, in 1879, collected 10,000 or 15,000 Nez Perces words with their English definitions for a dictionary, together with the outlines of a Nez Perces and English grammar. Her literary work is very highly commended by Hon. J. H. Trumbull, LL.D., probably one of the best linguists in the United States, and the late Professor Joseph Henry, Director of the Smithsonian Institution. Rev. M. Eells furnished in 1879 to Major J. W. Powell, of the U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey, 780 words and phrases in the Chemakum language, 1,792 in that of the Twanas, 1,850 in the Squakson dialect of the Nisqually, 2,040 in the Clallam language. The works mentioned in the paragraph in this chapter, in regard to literature in the Nez Perces and Spokane languages, are the only ones which have been published in those languages, and that in the Chinook jargon the only one in that language, except dictionaries.

Natural History and Meteorology.—Mr. Parker devotes two chapters of his work to the natural history of the region, describing the birds, quadrupeds, fishes, and botany; and another chapter mainly to the climate—giving a table of the thermometer three times a day,

and a note of the weather each forenoon and afternoon, from October 4th, 1835, to May 15th, 1836, while he was in the country—by far the earliest table of the kind which the writer has seen.

Railroad.—It may be as well here to mention that Mr. Parker first announced to the public the practicability of a railroad through the Rocky Mountains, saying in his edition of 1838: "There would be no difficulty in the way of constructing a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and probably the time may not be far distant when trips will be made across the continent as they have been made to the Niagara Falls, to see nature's wonders."

Education.—Education is the handmaid of religion—so much so that most missionaries to the heathen are convinced that they must establish schools alongside of the church. It is not common, however, for them to found these for the whites, yet such has occasionally been the result of their work in the United States; and this has been especially true on the north-west coast. Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, in its first stages, was an Indian mission school; and Willamette University, the first collegiate institution in Oregon, owes its existence to the dying mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Indians. Phœnix-like, this has risen from its ashes.

After the last reinforcement of that mission had arrived, in 1840, there was a community of about seventy-five persons, more than twenty of whom were children. Around this mission, as a centre, a number of trappers, travelers and others had settled, and children were becoming somewhat numerous. The settlers saw that most of them were likely to remain, and hence naturally began to turn their attention to the education of their children. It required, also, no great foresight to see that the mission was likely to close before many years, and that whites would take the place of the savages, and, therefore, that schools would be needed for the future. Hence Mr. Farnham, an ardent American, who visited the country about 1838, says of the missionaries: "Their object in settling in Oregon I understood to be two-fold—the one, and principal, to civilize and christianize the Indians; the other, and not less important, the establishment of religious and literary instruction for the benefit of the white emigrants; . . . . a site had already been selected for an academical building." The settlement naturally looked to the mission, as being largely composed of educated men, to take the lead in the enterprise, and, accordingly, a meeting of those interested was called January 17th, 1842, by Rev. Jason Lee, at his house, to take into con-

sideration the subject of English education and a literary institution. The general question was there discussed, and Dr. J. L. Babcock, Rev. D. Leslie, and Rev. G. Hines, all of whom were connected with the mission, were appointed to call a public meeting with reference to the contemplated institution. This meeting was held February 1st following, at the "Old Mission," the original house erected by Mr. Lee in 1834, half a mile above the present town of Wheatland. It was well attended by the friends of education, and, after a careful investigation, it was unanimously resolved to establish a collegiate institution for the benefit of the rising generation of Oregon, and it was named "The Oregon Institute." Revs. J. Lee, D. Leslie, G. Hines, J. L. Parrish, and L. H. Judson, and Messrs. G. Abernethy, A. Beers, H. Campbell and J. L. Babcock, were elected its first Board of Trustees, all of whom had come out as missionaries, or assistant missionaries, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Another committee was chosen to select a site for the Institute, and the place which they chose was on Wallace Prairie, two and a half miles below where Salem now stands. At another meeting, held March 15th following, a prospectus, constitution and by-laws were adopted. These stated that the institution was

designed not only to promote science, but also morality and piety; that it should always be under the supervision of some branch of the Protestant Church; that it should be begun as an academical boarding-school, with the intention that it grow into a university whenever the proper authorities should think it expedient; and that it should be placed in the hands of that society of evangelical christians which should first pledge itself to sustain it. It was also made the right of any person subscribing fifty dollars or more, and paying the same according to the terms of subscription, to be associated with said society in the transaction of business.

A subscription paper was then prepared, in order to obtain the means to erect a suitable building, and $3,970 were soon subscribed, all but $410 of which was from those who were connected with the Methodist mission, many of the persons giving from one-fourth to one-third of all they possessed. The Methodist Episcopal Church, at a meeting held October 26, 1842, resolved to take the institution under its care, and pledged itself to use every reasonable effort to sustain it. This was done in accordance with the article of the constitution which requested some branch of the Protestant Church to do so. The whole action was rati-

fied May 29, 1843, by a meeting of the whole community, including nearly every subscriber to the funds of the institution, and the property was transferred to that church. This was done because the elementary Board of Trustees was believed to be irresponsible, that is, not responsible to any special body, though this was necessarily so at first. Some changes were now made in this board, though only one person, W. Hauxhurst, Esq., was chosen as a member, who had not been connected with Indian missions. The building was begun under the superintendency of Hon. W. H. Gray, who had been released from the mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and had been chosen General Superintendent and Secular Agent of the Institute ; and by October, 1843, three thousand dollars had been expended on it. About this time Rev. J. Lee, who had been elected President of the Board at its first annual meeting, determined to go east, to promote the civil and religious interests of the country, and hence he was requested and authorized to act while there as agent for the institution, to solicit funds, donations for a library, philosophical apparatus, and the like ; but he died while in the east, bequeathing to it one hundred dollars, in addition to five hundred dollars which he

had previously subscribed. In May, 1844, energetic measures were made to proceed with the building, by the survey and sale of lots, so as to begin school in the fall, when Rev. Geo. Gary arrived, and closed up most of the missions, and also this mission manual labor school.

This school had a building erected at a cost of ten thousand dollars, and as it had to be put to some other use, and it was desirable that it should be used as nearly as possible to promote the objects contemplated by the church in its erection, Mr. Gary proposed to sell it to the Trustees of the Institute for four thousand dollars. Further, as the location was much better than the one on Wallace Prairie, and as they had an opportunity to sell the property there for three thousand dollars, they did so, and were enabled to purchase the school-house and lands of Mr. Gary. Thereafter the Oregon Mission Manual Labor School, erected for Indian children, became the Oregon Institute, devoted mainly to the education of the children of the whites. Mr. Gary had an opportunity to sell this property to the Roman Catholics for twice the amount he received, but preferred to do as he did—the other four thousand dollars being in reality a donation of the Mission Board to the Institute—to the cause of education among the whites of Oregon

In the fall of 1844 the school began with about twenty scholars under Mrs. C. A. Wilson as teacher, who had come to Oregon as an assistant missionary. She continued until 1848 in this position. Among others who have taught in the school are, Miss Mary Leslie, Rev. C. Eells and wife, all of whom had been connected with some of the Indian Missions. Mrs. L. L. Grubbs, a daughter of Rev. Jason Lee, and a graduate of the institution, was for several years first a teacher and afterwards preceptress of the school, and after leaving it, with her husband taught at Wilbur Academy, in Douglas County and in Baker County.

Among those who have been connected with the institution as Trustees, have been the following missionaries, who labored for its good as long as they were in the country, or until the time of their death: Rev. Jason Lee, to whom reference has already been made; Mr. A. Beers, who for several years was treasurer, and died in 1853; Mr. H. Campbell, deceased; Hon. George Abernethy, a Trustee from the beginning, in 1842, until the time of his death, May 2, 1877; Rev. D. Leslie, one of the original nine and President of the Board from 1844 until the time of his death, March 1st, 1869, with the exception of one year, when he was absent on a voyage to the Sandwich Islands for the

benefit of the health of his family; Rev. A. F. Waller, a member from 1843 until his death, December 26th, 1872, and for many years the zealous and successful agent of the institution, performing three years of such work without reward; Rev. G. Hines, another of the first nine, and a member at the time of his death in 1873; Dr. W. H. Wilson, from 1843 to 1853, and Secretary a part of the time; and Rev. J. L. Parrish, a Trustee from the beginning until the present time, Treasurer a part of the time, and President of the Board since Father Leslie's death.

In January, 1853, the Institute grew into Willamette University, by act of the Legislature of Oregon, and in April, 1867, the Medical Department was added. In July, 1859, the first person, Miss Emily J. York, now Mrs. Moore, Dean of the Woman's College Hall, received her diploma as Mistress of English Literature, and since that time 185 others have graduated in all the literary departments, and 110 in the medical department. The number of students has varied, reaching 225 in October, 1874. During the winter of 1880–81 300 were in attendance in all departments. The influence which Indian missions, through these students, has had in Oregon, is inestimable.

Not much was done for the endowment of

the institution previous to 1856, when Rev. T. H. Pearne, then Delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church from Oregon, was authorized to solicit funds for the purpose in the east. As the Missionary Board had secured through its missionaries considerable property in Oregon, it was thought proper to ask it for help, and with liberality it responded, by promising to pay five thousand dollars as soon as fifteen thousand dollars should be secured from other sources and well invested. This was accomplished by August, 1859, when the Missionary Board proposed to transfer about eighty acres of land which it owned in the vicinity of Salem, as an equivalent for the money promised. This was accepted by the Trustees in 1864, and in 1867 the final papers were executed; thus a handsome gift, the cause of the first endowment of the University, was bestowed by the Missionary Board, on account of the early labors of its missionaries, and the interest they had awakened in the east in regard to the subject of education on this coast.

Also of the twenty-two thousand dollars secured in Oregon for this first endowment, three thousand was given by those who had come to the country in connection with the mission.

"They came, those men of prayer, of lives austere,
Of faith unwavering, and of toil severe.

* * * * * *

They came and planted in the wilderness
A tender vine, a vine whose fruit shall bless
Unnumbered generations; and their deeds
Do follow them and help men in their needs.

* * * * * *

And savage men, and nature wild and free,
These they subdued by faith and industry;
And here they planted firm, and strong, and deep,
A corner-stone, a watch for us to keep.
Here for long years the wisdom and the youth
Have quaffed rich nectar from the fount of truth.
These walls have been our home; the dead our friends.
A tender memory with our duty blends." *

Whitman Seminary.—In the upper part of Walla Walla City, Washington Territory, is a building with this name, in honor of the martyr missionary who fell about six miles from the place.

In 1859, very soon after the country east of the Cascade Mountains was declared open for settlement, Rev. C. Eells, one of the early missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, turned his eyes toward Walla Walla. He soon purchased of the Mission Board in Boston their right to the mission claim at Waiilatpu, where Dr. Whitman

* A. T. Hawley, at the Fourteenth Annual Reunion of the Graduates of Willamette University, June 23d, 1880.

and his associates were massacred. This was the residence of himself and family most of the time from 1860 to 1872.

The great grave of Dr. Whitman, wife and nine others who were killed, was in sight of his house, and the memory of his deeds was in his mind. He and others felt as if a monument of stone ought to be erected over the grave, yet he believed that if Dr. Whitman could have anything to say in regard to it, it would be that the best monument would be a high school of earnest christian character, for the benefit of the youth of the valley. Hence, a charter was obtained from the Legislature of Washington Territory of 1859–1860, and a Board of Trustees was appointed, two of whom were early missionaries to the Indians. The way then not being open, little more was done. Mr. Eells, however, in all of his varied labors, kept the idea of a school continually in view, until early in 1866, when subscription papers were circulated, a site donated by Dr. D. S. Baker on certain conditions, and steps immediately taken to erect a building twenty by forty-six feet, two stories high. It was built during the summer, and so far finished in the fall, at a cost of $4,842.42, as to be dedicated on the 13th of October, and was opened for use a few days afterwards. The cost was not all paid at that

time, but when it was paid it was found that Mr. Eells had given $2,900, including interest. Since then he has given about $1,750 additional to the seminary, making $4,600 in all; has acted as President of the Board of Trustees from the beginning to the present time—more than twenty years—and also, as its Principal, taught in it for about two and a half years subsequent to April, 1867.

Rev. Harvey Clarke, who was sent out by some of the north-western churches with the prime idea of benefiting the Indians, came to the country in 1840. When he arrived he found it impracticable, and immediately turned his attention to the wants of the whites, and began a school, which was at first an orphan boarding school, but in later years it became the Pacific University. With the exception of this early beginning, the history of that college belongs more properly to Home than to Foreign Missions.

Rev. E. Walker and C. Eells voted in 1848 for the establishment of Tualatin Academy at the first annual meeting of the Congregational and Presbyterian Association, and both would then have been chosen as Trustees, had their relations with the Board of Foreign Missions been dissolved; but there was a probability at that time of their resuming work among the

Spokane Indians. This institution has since grown into Pacific University, at Forest Grove, Oregon.

Mr. Walker afterwards removed to Forest Grove, to educate his children at the institution; and for the last ten years of his life he served as a Trustee. He died in November, 1877. He was most deeply interested in its success, and gave a thousand dollars of his property, and his counsel and zeal for it were direct and efficient.

When Rev. C. Eells left the mission he engaged more directly in educational work than most of his brethren. The first winter (1848–9) he and his wife spent in the Oregon Institute at Salem, Oregon, where, says Rev. G. Hines (Oregon and its Institutions, page 228), they "exerted an excellent influence and contributed much while they remained to give character and stability to the school." He was next called to take charge of the institution at Forest Grove, where he remained for about a year and a half. In 1851 he removed to the region near Hillsboro', and there taught school most of the time until 1857, when he was recalled to Forest Grove, as principal of Tualatin Academy, where he remained two and a half years. He then resigned, to begin his efforts for Whitman Seminary at Walla Walla. Mrs.

Group of Piute and Warm Spring boys at the Indian Training School, Forest Grove, Oregon.

Eells also donated to Pacific University a block of land in Forest Grove, to aid the endowment of a professorship of Mathematics, which, with accumulated interest, now amounts to about two thousand dollars.

Thus it will be seen that the influence of both missions in Oregon has been very wide on behalf of the cause of education on the north-west coast. Thousands of youth, many of them now filling important positions, have received the impress of their training, and influences have thus been exerted which will never die.

Temperance.—The first work of this kind of any importance in Oregon, was begun by the members of the Methodist mission. About 1837 Mr. Ewing Young erected buildings with the intention of carrying on a distillery in the Willamette valley. Fearing that it might have an evil influence not only on the whites, but also prove dangerous to the settlement by its influence on the Indians, Mr. Lee remonstrated with him, but in vain. He then stated the case to his friends, and with such effect that they raised a considerable sum of money, which they offered to Mr. Young, provided he would relinquish the business. He refused the money, but was so affected by this expression of the earnest desire of these people, that he stopped the work—although he had completed the building, raised the arch, and set the boiler.

In June, 1844, the Legislature of Oregon passed a law which forbade the importing or introducing of ardent spirits, imposing a fine of fifty dollars on any person who should break the law; also forbidding the sale, barter or trade of such spirits, under penalty of twenty dollars for each offense; and the erection of a distillery, with a fine of one hundred dollars for such an offense. This law, said Dr. E. White, sub-Indian agent, aided materially in managing the Indians, and he further added that the colony were indebted to the Methodist mission and the Hudson's Bay Company for it. The bill was introduced into the Legislature by Hon. W. H. Gray.

CHAPTER VI.

MISSIONS AND INDIAN WARS.

THE Gospel is a gospel of peace. It aims to prevent war wherever it is carried. It has been successful in doing so among the Indians, by preventing wars between various tribes ; it has also had a reflex influence on the race which has carried it to them in two ways ; it has prevented some tribes from engaging in wars with the whites who otherwise would have done so, and also in nearly every war which has occurred north of California and west of the Rocky Mountains, it has so influenced christian Indians as to largely aid our troops, save many valuable lives, and shorten such wars.

Ti-lau'-kait, one of the Cayuse Indians engaged in the Whitman massacre, said to Dr. Whitman, after the doctor had been some years among his tribe, substantially as follows: "Doctor, I am mad at you. Before you came, we fought with each other, killed each other, and enjoyed it. You have taught us that it is wrong, and we

have in a great measure ceased. So I am mad at you for preventing our doing what we enjoyed." Ti-lau'-kait afterwards allowed his evil passions to overcome him, participated in the massacre, and for this he was hung at Oregon City. But the effects of the Gospel have been so manifest in our Indian wars, on those who have yielded themselves to its influence, that if Government had paid all the expenses of the missions, and yet if no Indian had been converted, no country saved to the nation, no literary or scientific knowledge gained, no institutions of learning established, no recompense obtained except that which has been received in these wars, the money would have been wisely invested. We will examine each war separately.

I. *The Cayuse War.*—This was caused by the massacre of Dr. Whitman and thirteen others, in November, 1847, when forty-seven captives were taken by the Cayuse, which were ransomed by Governor Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company; after which about 400 volunteers went from the Willamette valley in 1848, fought and conquered the Indians, who escaped beyond their reach, as related in Chapter I. In 1850 Governor Lane succeeded in securing five of the murderers, who were tried, condemned and hung at Oregon City.

After Dr. Whitman's death, Mr. Canfield, an

emigrant who was stopping at the mission that winter, escaped by night, and went to Lapwai, Mr. Spalding's station. There was great danger that the Nez Perces would join the Cayuses in the war, as the two tribes were largely intermarried and quite intimate. Knowing this, Mr. Canfield, when he reached a camp of the Nez Perces, said nothing about the murderers, but procured a guide and proceeded to the mission, where he arrived the next day. Mr. Spalding had not then returned, but, as soon as Mr. Canfield was alone with Mrs. Spalding, he told her of the sad event, and they consulted what was best to be done. Mr. Canfield thought it best to wait until the Indians should learn of it, and then see what it would be wise to do. But Mrs. Spalding thought differently. She determined to tell the chiefs who were the most friendly, and throw herself under their protection. Jacob and Eagle, two friendly chiefs, were there at the time, and she immediately told them. They advised her to leave her own house and go to their camp, as being a safer place in case hostile Indians should come, and gave orders to their young men to protect her. On Monday morning an Indian came from Walla Walla, and with him several Nez Perces from the camp where Mr. Canfield had procured his guide, ready for pillage and

murder. They went to the mission buildings, which they pillaged, but the protection of the friendly Nez Perces most likely saved Mrs. Spalding from the fate of Mrs. Whitman.

Mr. Spalding returned the same afternoon, and they remained under the protection of the Indians until Governor Ogden reached Fort Walla Walla.

Mr. Spalding has also left the following statement : Some days after the murder of Dr. Whitman, Edward, son of a Cayuse chief, went up to the mission saw-mill, about twenty miles from Dr. Whitman's station, and was bringing down Mr. and Mrs. E. Young and Mrs. Joseph Smith and their families, with the intention of murdering them, when Timothy, a Nez Perces chief, and Eagle, native christians, arrived from Lapwai, and said that no more Americans should be killed while they were alive. No more were killed.

When Governor Ogden reached Fort Walla Walla he immediately sent an express to Mr. Spalding, requesting him to join him. In forty-eight hours Mr. Spalding and wife and ten others were on their way, escorted by forty Nez Perces Indians. They soon reached Walla Walla, and for this the Indians received twelve blankets and other articles.

Mr. Spalding also added that in 1848, when

the north-west tribes assembled at the Deschutes, waiting for ammunition to be brought to them by priests, with which to cut off the Willamette settlements, the Nez Perces were strongly urged to join them. But instead of doing so, they refused, and, on the other hand, sent word to the combined camp, that if they attempted to fall upon the American settlements, they, the Nez Perces, would fall upon their rear, sweep their country of their herds of horses, and retire east of the mountains. This unexpected intelligence coming at the moment of the unexpected seizure, by Lieutenant Rogers of the army then at the Dalles, of the ammunition from the priests, completely checked the savages, and saved the settlements, then peculiarly exposed on account of the rush of the able-bodied Americans to the gold mines of California.

Says Governor Abernethy, Governor of Oregon from 1845 to 1849: "The strongest efforts were made, I believe, to induce the Nez Perces to join the combined hosts against the Americans, and if they had done so the Americans would have been destroyed." And he also adds, "I firmly believe that the instructions the Nez Perces received from the missionaries kept them from joining in the wars against the Americans.

During the same war the Spokane Indians, where Messrs. Walker and Eells had labored, were even more friendly than the Nez Perces, for not even a part of the tribe became hostile, nor were any buildings pillaged, although great inducements were held out to them by the Cayuses to join in the war.

On the other hand, it was considered safe for the mission families to remain at their station, unprotected except by these Indians, until March 15, 1848, more than two and a half months after the station among the Nez Perces had been abandoned, and three and a half months after the death of Dr. Whitman. During this time the Indians about Fort Colville grew so hostile, on account of rumors which came that some of their friends had been killed, that Mr. Lewes was obliged to keep the fort guarded night and day for two weeks. Thus the Indians, both to the north and south of the Spokanes, were hostile, yet they remained friendly. Rumors of danger from the hostile Cayuses at last became so startling that it was not thought safe to remain; hence, Messrs. Walker and Eells, with their families, removed to Fort Colville, where they remained more than ten weeks, after which they were conducted to the Willamette valley. (See Chapter I.)

A Chief of the Yakama War.

Very soon after their removal to Fort Colville, the gentlemen of the mission and one of the older boys returned to the mission station to look after the things. They spent the Sabbath there, but towards night a war-whoop was heard in the timber not far distant. It was enough to startle a brave heart, for it proceeded from a band of Indians, mounted on horses, who were rapidly coming nearer. Still it seemed impossible to do anything except to await the result, and learn whether they were foes or friends. As they came closer, the white men were able to distinguish that they were friendly Spokanes. And now for the cause. They had been camped twenty or twenty-five miles distant, while the enemy was camped fifty or sixty miles from the mission station. One of the Spokanes had visited the Cayuse camp, and had found that a few of the Cayuses were absent, but he could not learn where they had gone. He suspected, however, from tracks that he saw, that they had gone secretly to the station to murder Messrs. Walker and Eells. The spy returned to his camp and informed the chief, who gave orders immediately for his young men to rush to the station, twenty-one of whom did so. They had expected to find the Cayuses there, and their teachers murdered; but, on nearing

the place, they became satisfied that it was not so, and raised the shout as one of joy. Nor would they rest easy until, having guarded them during the night, they saw their teachers next day on the way to Fort Colville, accompanied the whole distance by some of their number.

After the volunteers had driven the Cayuse Indians out of their own country, across Snake River, and more than half way to the Spokane mission, although the Spokane chiefs sent word to the Cayuses not to come to their lands, the reply was: "We shall not regard what you say"; consequently the Spokane and Flathead Indians prepared for war with them when they should come. They, however, did not come.

According to the unsolicited testimony of Chief Factor Lewes, of Fort Colville, Mr. Eells was indefatigable in his efforts to maintain a good understanding between the Indians near his station and the whites, amid "much personal risk," as well as "bodily fatigue," and he had the privilege of seeing his efforts crowned with success.

During the ten weeks, less one day, while the families were at the fort, Mr. Eells slept there ten nights. The rest of the time he was visiting Indian camps, holding councils, looking after mission property, and keeping expresses

running to the officers of the volunteers. According to his estimate, during that time he traveled on horseback 1,400 miles.

Instead of pillaging, these Indians protected the mission buildings until long after the removal of their teachers to the Willamette. Previous to the time when the mission families left, the only two sickles at the place were handed to the Indians, and they were requested to harvest the mission wheat when ripe, but were told that if their teachers did not return by winter, they might use it. They harvested it, but the chief said it must be reserved for the use of their teachers when they should return. On account of great need, a portion of the wheat was used by the Indians, but afterwards replaced. About two years after, arrangements were made for Mr. Walker to accompany Dr. Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to the Spokanes. Quickly the Indians took some of the wheat and carried it to Fort Colville, seventy miles distant, where it was ground and brought back for the use of the expected party. Unexpected intelligence from Indians in Southern Oregon, however, frustrated the plan of Dr. Dart and Mr. Walker, so that they failed to visit the Spokanes.

II. *The Yakama War.*—This occurred in 1855–6, and was the most widespread war

which has ever devastated the coast, extending from Rogue River on the south, to the Spokanes on the north, and from Puget Sound on the west, to the Nez Perces on the east.

Some, but not all, of the Spokane Indians were indeed engaged in it. When the council was held among them, in which it was decided to unite with the other hostile Indians, Big Star, chief of that portion among whom missionary labor had mainly been spent, opposed the war as long as he could, and after the final vote was taken, he drew off with his band, saying that they would not fight against the whites.

At the beginning of this war, March 26, 1856, a massacre took place at the Cascades, Washington Territory, and before the Yakama Indians were driven back seventeen whites were killed and twelve wounded. Among those killed was James Sinclair, of Fort Walla Walla, of the Hudson's Bay Company. Forty persons were besieged in a store for two days, until help arrived from the Dalles. Says L. W. Coe, in a letter describing this massacre: "We had no water, but during the first night a Spokane Indian, who was traveling with Sinclair, and was in the store with us, volunteered to get a pail of water from the river. I consented, and he stripped himself naked, jumped out and down the bank, and was back in no

time. . . . On the next night a house near by was fired, and kept us in light until about four o'clock A. M., when darkness returning, I sent the Spokane Indian for water from the river, and he filled two barrels. He went to and fro like lightning."

As late as about 1863, it was their boast that no American blood had ever been shed on their soil; and when this did occur, by the hand of an Indian of another tribe, it made them very sad.

A part of the Cayuses also aided our troops. The battle of Walla Walla was fought in their country, and for a long period the Oregon volunteers were in that region; and during that time, says Col. T. R. Cornelius, who was then commanding the regiment, and afterwards President of the Oregon Senate, old Istikus, a Cayuse chief, who was always friendly to Dr. Whitman, with his band, rendered us valuable assistance. He furnished us scouts, which were of great use to us, and often also furnished us with provisions when we most needed them.

The Nez Perces also remained friendly. At one time, says Rev. H. H. Spalding, a great feast was made, and 37 oxen were killed by the hostiles, to which the Nez Perces were invited, so as to induce them to break with the Americans and join the enemy; but they refused, fur-

nished some provisions and cattle to our army, an express to go where no white man could live, and at one time remounted our army when its horses had given out.

The hostile Indians sent word to the Nez Perces, "Join us in the war against the whites or we will wipe you out." They also said: "We have made the whites run out of the country, and now we will make the friendly Indians do the same." Yet the Nez Perces remained friendly.

Col. Cornelius further states that if the Nez Perces, on the other hand, had joined the hostiles, if the American settlements had not been cut off they would have been involved in a most disastrous and expensive war.

When the war first began they flew to the rescue of Gov. I. I. Stevens and party, who were in danger of being cut off, and helped to take them to a place of safety.

The Oregon and Washington volunteers withdrew from the field in 1856, the war being almost closed; yet for some time afterwards there were Indian troubles in the region and regular soldiers were kept in the field. In May, 1858, a combination of Palouse, Spokane, Pend O'Reille, and Cœur D'Alene Indians surprised and badly whipped the command of Colonel Steptoe, in Eastern Washington. One-fourth

of his command was killed or wounded, he was surrounded, his water and retreat were cut off, and his ammunition gone at sundown. The enemy, waiting for the morning to scalp the last American, spent a portion of the night in a war dance and uproar around their fires.

It was then that Timothy, the Nez Perces preacher, and two brothers who were fighting with the Americans, discovered an unguarded opening in the rocks. He said to Colonel Steptoe, "You are surrounded. Here is one way of retreat by leaving your heavy baggage, or if you choose to fight we will stand by you and die with you." The Colonel chose to retreat, and Timothy guided him and the remnant of his troops, amid the darkness of the night, past the noise of the enemy, with the stillness of death, on to his own country and furnished them with food. The little company, "after a ride of 90 miles, mostly at a gallop, reached Snake River," where others of this friendly tribe "received them with open arms, succored the wounded men, and crossed in safety the whole command over the difficult and dangerous river."

The officer in command of the Nez Perce band wrote as follows:

"Allow me, while this general war is going on, to point you at least to a few green spots

where the ravages of war do not as yet extend, and which thus far are untainted, with a view of so retaining them that we may hereafter point to them as oases in this desert of war. These green spots are the Nez Perces, the Flat Heads, and Pend d'Oreilles. Before leaving Walla Walla, Colonel Wright assembled the Nez Perce people, told them his object was to war with and punish our enemies; but as this great people were and ever had been our friends, he wanted their friendship to be as enduring as the mountains around which they lived; and in order that no difference of views or difficulty might arise, that their mutual promises should be recorded."

Consequently he then made a treaty of friendship with them, and thirty of them accompanied him against the enemy. When he asked them what they wanted, they replied: "Peace, ploughs, and schools."*

It was, therefore, not strange, as General Benjamin Alvord wrote in a letter to Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D.D., that Colonel Steptoe "often descanted on the manly traits and christian perseverance of Timothy, a Nez Perce chief, and many of the Nez Perces." And the General also added: "Accounts concur as to the remarkable preservation by the Nez Perces of

* Century of Dishonor, pp. 115, 116.

the habits derived from the missionaries a dozen years ago."

The aid of this latter tribe was afterwards recognized by Government, and for it they received $4,665; and, in addition, a house was built for Timothy for his services.

III. *The Nez Perces Mining Trouble.*—The first treaty was made with the Nez Perces in 1855, but it was not ratified until 1859. The next year the gold mines of Orofino were discovered on their reservation, and the following year those of Florence and other places in Western Idaho, to the east of the reservation; but to reach the latter the miners were obliged to travel across the reservation; and men did rush on to it and across it very much as if it had not been set apart for the Indians. In order to avoid a conflict, a new treaty was made in April, 1861 (which, however, was never ratified), by which that part of the reservation lying north of Snake and Clearwater Rivers, the south Fork of the Clearwater, and the trail from the south Fork, by the Weipo root ground, across the Bitter-root Mountains, was opened to the whites in common with the Indians for mining purposes. As long as the United States did not ratify it, it did not become binding on the Indians, and even if it had been, only a part of the reservation was opened,

and that only for mining purposes. Yet, in defiance of law, and against the protestations of the Indian Agent, the town of Lewiston was laid out in 1861, on the reservation, and on that part of it which had not been thus opened. This town soon grew to be a place of twelve hundred people, and the first capital of Idaho; and the anomaly was seen of the Legislature of a Territory sitting on an Indian reservation, and even making laws, some of which were contrary to the laws of the United States, in regard to intercourse with Indians.

By the spring of 1863 it was evident that a new treaty was needed, whereby the reservation should be curtailed, if possible, and this was made in June of that year, but it was not ratified by the United States until 1867. Lawyer, the head chief, and fifty other sub-chiefs and head men agreed to it, but others did not, among whom were Joseph, White Bird, and Looking Glass, who lived on the part surrendered to the United States; and this was the main cause of the war with Joseph in 1877.

The tribe was thus in 1863 divided into the treaty and non-treaty Indians, and as Government failed either to ratify this treaty or even to pay all the money due under the first treaty, the division between the two parties grew wider and wider, and the non-treaty party

grew constantly stronger, while the other side grew weaker. To add to the difficulty, the miners and others, of whom three or four thousand were on the reservation, carried a large amount of whisky with them, a considerable part of which was furnished to the Indians, enough at times to occasion serious trouble, had there been no other cause. Laws, too, were enacted by the Legislature of Idaho, and put in operation, in direct violation of the intercourse act of 1834, under which charters for bridges and ferries were granted, and roads laid off.

By 1866 nothing had been paid under the treaty of 1863, as it had not been ratified, while four installments of annuities, of ten thousand dollars each under the first treaty; four thousand six hundred and sixty-five dollars for horses and other material furnished during the Yakama War, about ten years previous; eleven hundred and eighty-five dollars and fifty cents for work done for Government, and Lawyer's salary for nine months, ending July, 1864, amounting to three hundred and seventy-five dollars, $46,125.50 in all, were all unpaid. These causes strengthened the non-treaty party and made them more hostile, for promises were nearly all they received from Government, and these, unfulfilled, soon grew to be almost worthless.

Lawyer, notwithstanding, stood firm for the whites until June, 1867, more than six years after the miners had entered his reservation, and four years after the last treaty had been made. But by that time he seemed to tire of waiting, and at a council held that month he boldly demanded that justice be done; and such was the feeling of the tribe that if he had not done so, wrote the Agent, J. O'Neill, "he would not have lived forty-eight hours. I know this to be true," he added; "I know that some of his people would have killed him. As Little Dog, one of the chiefs of the Blackfeet, was killed for his friendship to the whites, so Lawyer would have been sacrificed."

News of the ratification of the treaty, however, reached them soon after this; the promises made soon began to be fulfilled, and trouble was averted. Had war once begun, according to the opinion of Hon. D. W. Ballard, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Idaho at that time, all over the Territory and around its boundaries would have blazed the signal fires and gleamed the tomahawk of the savages. Kootenays, Pend O'Reilles, Cœur-D'Alenes, Blackfeet, Flatheads, Spokanes, Palouses, Bannocks and Shoshones would have been involved.

It was such difficulties as these that were a

prominent cause of the war with Sitting Bull and the Sioux in 1876, when the lamented General Custer fell; and why was a war prevented at this time? The answer is, mainly by the efforts of Lawyer. Who was he? He was one of the first to attend school when opened by Rev. H. H. Spalding in 1837, and he is said to have learned to read better than any other Indian. He was the teacher of Rev. A. B. Smith in the native language in 1839. He was appointed chief in 1855, and so remained until 1872, and was again chosen in 1874 for one year. In 1871 he made a profession of religion, and ever afterwards maintained a consistent christian character. He was chosen a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church, and in 1875 retired to his home at Kamiah, where he spent most of the remainder of his life in visiting among the Indians and exhorting them to abandon their heathen practices, and embrace a christian life. He died a year or two later, aged about eighty years, having been eight or nine years old when Lewis and Clarke came to the country.

In addition to this evidence of the benefit of mission work during this troublous period, the following testimony is of value: Says J. W. Anderson, Indian Agent for the Nez Perces about 1862: "Although Mr. Spalding had

been absent from the tribe many years, yet they retained all the forms of worship which he had taught them. Many of them have prayers night and morning in their lodges. In my opinion, Mr. Spalding by his own personal labors has accomplished more good in this tribe than all the money expended by Government has been able to effect."

The *Golden Age*, of November 16th, 1874, published at Lewiston, Idaho, also says: "Through the self-abnegating labors of this good old man (Mr. Spalding) these aborigines, we feel safe in saying, have been benefited more than by all the thousands of outlay by Government."

And Rev. C. Eells wrote in May, 1866, to the *Missionary Herald:* "The Nez Perces are a large and powerful tribe. They have been ill-treated and grievously wronged by Americans, and, had they at any one of several critical periods combined against the whites, they might have caused incalculable injury. Under such circumstances I know not how to account for their marked patience and continued friendship, but by attributing both to the influence of the Gospel."

IV. *The War with the Snake Indians.*—This was waged mainly in Southern Idaho. It is hardly known when it began, but probably

some time between 1850 and 1860, and for a long time consisted mainly of skirmishes between emigrants and Indians. When the mines of Southern Idaho were opened in 1862, the trouble increased, and one company at least of miners was raised to settle the difficulty. Although something was thus done, yet the troubles did not remain settled, so that, after the close of the civil war in 1866, General George Crook was sent out to take matters in hand. He soon found that his regular soldiers could not successfully cope with the Indians, and determining to fight fire with fire, called for Indian scouts from the Umatilla and Warm Springs reservations. Most of these came from the latter reserve, where Captain John Smith had, a few months previously, taken charge. With his aid about one hundred of them were enlisted, dressed in United States uniform, and sent to the front in charge of Dr. William McKay, an educated half-breed, while his brother, Donald McKay, had charge of those from the Umatilla. The Snake Indians had learned how to manage the regular soldiers quite easily; but when they saw the blue-coats dismount from their horses and fight in true Indian style, they were surprised; when they were pursued into their mountain fastnesses they grew desperate; and when General Crook, advised by

the McKay brothers, was wise enough to follow up his success with a winter campaign, they surrendered.

According to the report of Hon. J. W. P. Huntington, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon for that time, these Indians fought in five battles, in only one of which they were supported by the regular soldiers, killed seventy-eight of the enemy, and also assisted in other engagements.

It is, doubtless, too much to say that all this aid was secured because of the christian instruction which these Indians from the Warm Springs reservation had received from Captain Smith, for he had been appointed as their Agent only a few months previous to their enlistment. The Warm Springs Indians had often been plundered, and some of them had been taken captive and killed by the Snakes, hence they were fighting partly for themselves; yet it is probably just as true that, if it had not been for Captain Smith's help in the matter, these Indian scouts could not have been obtained, as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs was strongly opposed to their enlistment.

V. *The Modoc War.*—This was carried on in Southern Oregon in the celebrated lava beds, and fairly began November 30th, 1872, between thirty-five regular soldiers and twenty-five vol-

unteers on one side, and twenty-eight Modoc men aided by their women and children on the other. Ten whites were killed and five wounded, while the Indians lost one man, one woman, and one infant, and finally obtained possession of the field. This was followed in January, 1873, by a battle between four hundred regular soldiers and volunteers and fifty-three Modocs, which lasted ten hours, and in which not an Indian was killed, while thirty-five soldiers lost their lives, and the rest retreated. Such a defeat set the authorities at Washington thinking, and they resolved to try the peace commission, which failed by the sad massacre of General Canby and Doctor Thomas, on Friday, April 11th, 1873, and war to the bitter end was determined upon.

About a thousand soldiers were then gathered around those lava beds, but they were hardly ready for the fight. Why? They were waiting for the scouts from the Warm Springs reservation. General Canby had telegraphed to their agent, Captain Smith, for them before his death, and in six hours after the request was received at the agency, they were enlisted and ready to move. So dependent was General Canby on them that he had determined, in case of his failure to make peace, not to begin fighting until they should arrive,

and immediately after his death General Gilliam would not follow the Modocs to their den because these scouts were not there, nor did he dare to do it until after they came. They arrived the next day after the massacre, seventy-two in number. The tribe had been compelled to take their reservation at Warm Springs, unfit as it was and is for farming, and give up the Tygh valley, which they wished, because of the presence of soldiers when the treaty was made. Afterwards they were cheated out of their fishery at the Dalles; but ready still to show their loyalty to the Government, they went to the Modoc War, under Donald McKay, with the prayers of their Agent, with whom they had regularly joined in worship on the Sabbath for several years.

Monday morning after the massacre dawned, and amidst the noise and din of camp life a strange sound was heard. What was it? Those scouts, born in the wild camps of Eastern Oregon, were joining in praise to God, and uniting in prayer for his protection; a thing, according to Hon. A. B. Meacham, not one of the five hundred white men had the courage to do. And God heard their prayers, all but two of them coming out of the battle alive. J. L. M'Creery, in the Council Fire, for 1881, has versified this incident in the following language:

BEFORE THE LAVA BEDS,

MONDAY NIGHT, APRIL 14, 1873.

"Midnight reigns, and darkness hovers
O'er a martial garrison,
Which our nation's ensign covers,
In the wilds of Oregon;
But the foe, that flag defying—
Savage Modocs now at bay—
In the lava beds are lying,
Waiting for the dawn of day.

"Near the white men, camped beside them,
Are their native red allies,
Come to fight for them or guide them,
Or to guard them from surprise.
White and red are brave and daring,
And, amid the starless gloom,
White and red are both preparing
For the fray that is to come.

"Well they know that of their number
Some must soon confront their God—
This to be their final slumber
Till they sleep beneath the sod.
Yet in what a varied manner
Those who wait the coming fight,
Sheltered by that starry banner,
Spend this dark and awful night!

"Hark, the sound of many voices
From the white men's camping ground,
And the wild discordant noises
As the festive cup goes round;
Voices maudlin and unsteady,
Raise the bacchanalian cry-
'Here is to the dead already
And to him who next shall die!'

"There are other echoes floating
On the midnight breeze afar—
Vague, familiar sounds, denoting
Where the Warm Spring Indians are;
'Tis the voice of prayer ascending
From their camp upon the knoll,
With the simple music blending—
'Jesus, lover of my soul.'

"Hear the whites in drunken revels,
Frenzy-fired and reckless men—
'Death to yonder savage devils!'
'Fill the flowing bowl again!'
See the Indian warriors kneeling,
Listen to their humble plea,
And their hymn to Heaven appealing,
'Rock of Ages, cleft for me!'

"On the morrow came the battle;
Slaughtered in the Modoc snare,
White and red men fell like cattle,
Leaving half their number there.
O self-righteous, proud Caucasian,
Look upon them side by side—
Tell me which in nobler fashion,
White or red man, lived and died!"

We have not space to follow them through all the battles of the war, but will note a few, to show how useful they were to our soldiers and the necessity of their aid. Fourteen Modocs started for water; a company of soldiers was sent to capture them, but the Modocs killed three of the soldiers and drove the rest back to camp. The command was given to shell them, but they dodged behind the rocks until the sol-

diers, tired of that mode of fighting, ceased, when the Modocs came out from behind the rocks, organized a mock battery, fired their guns into camp, insulted all the soldiers, and retired without losing a man. "Where are the Warm Springs scouts all this time?" asked one. They had been sent off to the other side of the lava beds to keep the enemy from escaping, and so could take no part in this encounter.

The Modocs were afterwards starved out of their stronghold, and took refuge in a new place in the lava beds. Their whereabouts were discovered by the Indian scouts, and a reconnoissance was ordered April 26th. Fourteen scouts were sent in one direction and 66 soldiers in another, who were ordered by no means to bring on an engagement; but they were too careless, fell into a Modoc trap, and only 23 out of the 66 returned to camp, the Indian scouts having hurried to the scene in time to prevent the entire annihilation of the party, while not one of the 24 Modocs engaged was injured.

The enemy subsequently left the lava beds, and were pursued by the companies of Captain Hasbrouck and Jackson, with the Indian scouts. While thus pursuing, the soldiers were surprised by an attack from the Modocs near Sorass Lake, May 10th, but the Warm

Springs Indians turned up at just the right time to save our soldiers from defeat and from massacre, according to their Agent, and turned the surprise into a victory—the first real victory of the war. In this battle the scouts lost two of their number.

Thus they served during the whole campaign. Says Captain Smith, "Their services cannot be exaggerated. They were the captors of the lava beds, and, in fact, did all the successful fighting that was done, and never forgot their duty as christians during the whole time." Yet only two of them were killed and two wounded, while not far from a hundred white soldiers lay down to rise no more. When the war was ended they returned to their homes, and settled down to a peaceful life as quietly as if there had been no war.

VI. *The War with Joseph's Band of the Nez Perces.*—The main cause of this has been hinted at in the third section of this chapter in regard to the Nez Perces mining trouble. The first treaty was made with the tribe in 1855. By the treaty of 1863 the reservation was curtailed, and among the portions surrendered was the Wallowa Valley, in Oregon, the home of Joseph. While the head chief and many sub-chiefs and head men agreed to the treaty, Joseph and those living in the valley did not.

In 1873, by an executive order of the President, a reserve was made for them in the valley, but in 1875, by the same authority, it was restored to the public domain. In 1877 an attempt was made to remove the band to the remaining portion of the Nez Perces reservation, and the result was a war, which began with a massacre, June 13th of the same year, at White Bird Creek, in Western Idaho, near the reservation, and continued in that region until the last of July, when the Indians fled into Montana, where they were captured by Generals Miles and Howard, October 5th, and afterwards taken to the Indian Territory.

During this war the effects of christianity on the tribe were very marked. Those acquainted with Indians have learned that their bond of relationship is quite strong, and that it is especially so in any difficulty with the whites. But in this war not only was the tribe divided, but, strange to say, family ties were sundered, while the dividing line was christianity. If this had done nothing more than to keep five-sixths of the tribe out of the war, the fruits would have been very great. Those who engaged in hostilities were those who steadily refused to come under christian teaching, while not a Protestant Christian Indian was found among the hostiles.

Besides this, the friendly portion of the tribe furnished valuable aid to us from the beginning of the war to the time when it was transferred to Montana. A small company of scouts aided in the first battle, June 17th, in a canyon of White Bird Creek, when two of them were captured, but they afterwards escaped. About the 1st of July, when General Howard left Lapwai in person, with three hundred soldiers, the friendly Nez Perces, at his request, furnished him with sixty horses to mount his officers. James Reuben was one of the most prominent of the scouts. He, Old Levi, Noah, James Conner, John Levi and Jacob carried most of the dispatches: sometimes by night, in the rain, swimming their horses in the dark, cold and wet; or, discovered by the hostiles, escaping to warn both settlers and soldiers; or engaging in the battles, in one of which one of them fired twenty-five rounds against members of his own tribe.

When the enemy escaped from the region and started for Montana by the Lolo trail, they were soon followed by the cavalry with thirty Nez Perces scouts under James Reuben, all being under the command of Colonel Mason. This was a very dangerous road for an ambush, the trail being so narrow that two persons could not ride abreast, with timber so thick and mountains

so steep on both sides, as to prevent all skirmishing. The scouts knew it, so that they said: "Every man may say to himself, now my life is ended in this world, for I will soon go down into the grave." Having proceeded about sixteen miles, they were moving along with three scouts ahead, seven more a short distance behind, and the rest about three hundred yards back with the cavalry. At that place the enemy laid an ambuscade, and suddenly surrounded the first three, disarmed them, took their horses away, and retired into the woods with their captives, without noise, ready to serve the next seven in the same manner, and then surprise the main column. The seven, being off their guard because of the three ahead, fell into the trap, but began fighting, broke through the enemy and reached the soldiers, not, however, until John Levi had been killed, Abraham and James Reuben wounded, the latter also having eighteen bullet holes through his clothes; but our troops were saved.

Who was this James Reuben? He was a nephew of Chief Joseph, the leader of the hostiles, but he was a christian. He had studied under Miss McBeth in order to become a teacher. Evidently on account of his relationship with Joseph, he was suspected by some whites of being a spy for the enemy, and on one occa-

sion, while carrying an express from General Howard to Lapwai, he narrowly escaped being shot three times by parties of white men on the road. At another time, when a company of soldiers had just arrived at Lapwai, and were ready to go to the front, he was put in charge of twenty scouts to go with them. Having reached Mount Idaho, two friendly Indians from Lapwai overtook him, who told him he must not go any further, as they had been told that all the white men were against him now; and it afterwards proved that white men who were with the command were waiting to see him away from the command so that they might dispatch him to the happy hunting grounds. His men advised him to return, and offered to guard him if he would do so; but he told them not to go back but to go on, saying: "Why should I flee? I have done nothing of the sort. The Word of God says: 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are bold as a lion.' God is my strong protection and shield in the days of my calamities. If God has anything against me, in whom I live and have my being, He will do as it please Him; but if not, why should I fear man? I will soon set these white men aright—those who are suspicious of me—and they will find their mistake." He did so, as we have already seen,

afterwards shedding his blood on the Lolo trail in defense of our soldiers. After the war he went as a missionary to Joseph and his band when they had been taken to the Indian Territory.

While the war was going on the Indians at Kamiah, about sixty miles from Lapwai, under James Lawyer, head chief, guarded the government property there ; and when the hostiles were fighting about twenty-five miles from that place, he formed a company of thirty-five of the native christians, and escorted their teacher, Miss McBeth, and the government employees, with their families, to Lapwai. "This," as it has been said, "they did at the risk of their own lives, as they well knew; but the love of Christ constrained them." The same Indians also removed many articles from the government buildings at Kamiah, and hid them in their corn-fields, fearing that the enemy might burn or plunder the houses. These articles were afterwards returned. After the war Miss McBeth wrote: "Not one of the treaty Indians joined the hostiles, and none of the old familiar faces are missing from their places here. I have more trust in them now than I ever had before the war."

After the enemy escaped into Montana, two of the Nez Perces went with our troops as

scouts, and continued with them until the end of the war, October 7th, in Northern Montana. Our troops during that time marched 1,320 miles in 75 days. These scouts traveled, necessarily, very much farther, and are highly complimented by General Howard for their faithful services.

Government so recognized the services of these friendly Indians, that in May, 1878, they received over five thousand dollars for the supplies, horses and services which they furnished during the war.

Says General Howard, the commanding officer during the war, "What glorious results would have been effected could these non-treaties [the hostiles] have received the same direction that the worthy missionaries were in early days able to give the remainder of their tribe."*

VII. *The Bannack War.*—This began in Southern Idaho in June, 1878, when the Indians were pursued westward into Eastern Oregon, destroying much property during their raid. They attempted then to go north and cross the Columbia River into Eastern Washington, but were prevented, a decisive battle having been fought near Pendleton, and at last they were broken into small bands and driven back

* Chief Joseph, p. 274.

into Idaho, where most of them surrendered, and the war was closed in August.

The aid received by our soldiers in this war from christian work among the Indians was more of an indirect, preventive kind, than of direct service. When the hostiles reached Oregon, strong inducements were offered to the Umatilla and Yakama Indians to join them, it being stated, on good authority, that at one time two thousand horses were offered them by the hostiles for this purpose.

One "*who wishes to be understood*" wrote a letter, in August, 1878, to *The Oregonian*, in which he spoke very harshly against the christian work on the Yakama reservation. He said: "We, who daily come in contact with the Indians, cannot be made to believe that prayer-books, praying generals, Methodist preachers (or any other preachers), are a good safeguard against the tomahawk or scalping knife. We believe that the foolish attempt to christianize diggers annually costs too many lives and too much treasure to be persisted in longer; and the pseudo-philanthropists, the christian mongers of the east, who are paying thousands to send missionaries among these barbarians, would do us a favor if they would keep them away, and they would more truly serve God by giving their money to the poor of

the great cities. And if the United States Government would be less influenced in its conduct towards the Indian by the advocates of christianity, our wives and children might annually be spared the sight of murdered husbands and fathers; our farmers would not yearly be driven from their fields until their growing crops again go back into the ground; our stockmen would not every summer see their fine horses and cattle stolen and slaughtered by the thousand, for then we could rely on the strong arm of the settler, aided by the army, and could protect ourselves. We have reliable information that some of the dead Indians found after the battles near Pendleton had on their persons passes from Wilbur."*

Now it is probably a fact that some of the Umatilla Indians, and perhaps some of the Yakamas, were engaged in aiding the enemy. There are always some renegade Indians connected with every tribe (as well as some renegade whites and tramps). As tribes, however, they did not engage in the war, and comparatively few individuals did.

Why was this? In the war of 1855–6, before Father Wilbur went among the Yakamas, they were the leading spirits, and it was the most wide-spread war that has ever devastated the

* Indian Agent on the Yakama Reservation.

Pacific coast. To say nothing of any ideas of the wickedness of such a course, which some of them may have received from the Bible, it may be said in reply that they had too much permanent property in homes and farms to allow them to engage in war, for they knew that, if they should do so, they would in the end certainly lose all. This is undoubtedly so; and yet, when Father Wilbur went among them, they had none of this kind of property, but only movable property, which they could carry with them, as the Bannacks did. It is a fact that christianity gave them this property.

It may again be said that they were thoroughly whipped in 1856, and were afraid to engage in war again. They were thus conquered, and the remembrance of it may have done them good, even in 1878. But in 1867 General Cook, the noted Indian fighter, just as thoroughly conquered the Indians in Idaho, in precisely the same region where the Bannack war began, and the praise of his effectual work was in the mouths of the citizens there for years afterwards. This was eleven years later than the Yakama war, and so much fresher in the minds of the Indians. It was christianity that made the Yakama Indians remember.

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Hence, whichever way we turn, we are obliged to say that christianity had a great

restraining power over those Indians, and thus, in an indirect way, gave us great assistance.

General Sheridan is said to be the author of the statement that the only good Indian is a dead one, and he has also said that to make one such good one costs about twenty thousand dollars, and the lives of half a dozen soldiers. Hon. J. W. P. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon in 1867, wrote: "I am painfully conscious that extermination will cost the lives of ten whites for every Indian, and, besides, cost many millions of money. The Government would probably have saved many dollars if it could, fifteen years ago, have taken every Snake Indian to a first-class hotel, and boarded them for life; it is also said every hostile Indian killed in the Modoc war cost the Government about a quarter of a million of dollars." Such statements as these, taken in connection with the statements made of the assistance received by us in these wars from the christian Indians, prove the truth of the remark made at the beginning of this chapter, that if Government had paid the expenses of all the missions in the region, the money would have been wisely expended, even if nothing had been accomplished, except to give us the aid which we have received in the Indian wars, from the influence of christianity on the Indians.

CONCLUSION.

THE Annual Report of the Board of Methodist Missions for 1848, says that Mr. Gary thinks it a mistake to have sent so many secular persons to Oregon in connection with the mission, because of the expense, and because the settlers looked on it as a money-making concern.

In 1863 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions published an octavo volume of four hundred and sixty-four pages, entitled, Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Yet in all that work all that is said of the mission in Oregon is contained in the following sentence, under the head of "Resultant Literature": "Rev. Samuel Parker's 'Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, made under the Direction of the Board in 1835, 1836 and 1837,' brought to light no field for a great and successful mission, but it added much to the science of geography, and is remarkable as having first made known a

practicable route for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific."

Thus the result of these missions appeared to their Missionary Boards then, and if so to them, what could not others say who did not believe in missions? But at this later period, let these discouraging remarks be answered by four prominent men of this coast, some of whom are not professing christians.

Says Hon. W. H. Gray with reference to the trading companies a generation or more ago: "All of them, including the North-west and Hudson's Bay Companies, have retired from it; but the American missionaries are residents of the country, and their influence and labors are felt, notwithstanding other influences have partially supplanted and destroyed the good impressions first made upon the natives of the country by them. Still, civilization, education and religion, with all the improvements of the age, are progressing, and the old pioneer missionaries and settlers that were cotemporary with them, with a few exceptions, are foremost in every laudable effort to benefit the rising generation."

"They formed the nucleus around which the American pioneer, with his family, gathered, and from which he drew his encouragement and protection; and a part of these mission-

aries were the leaders and sustainers of those influences which ultimately secured this country to freedom and to the great Republic."

"It is obvious that to the American missionaries our nation owes an honorable record, and their names .... should find a prominent place in the catalogue of noble men and women who not only volunteered to civilize and christianize the Indians, but did actually save this western golden coast, to honor and enrich the great republic in the time of her greatest peril."*

Says Hon. H. H. Gilfry, commissioned by her Governor as Oregon's orator at the centennial celebration in Philadelphia in 1876: "No regularly organized system for peopling this Territory was entered into until about the year 1834, when zealous christians in the Eastern States turned their attention to the West as a favorable soil for planting the standard of the Cross, and for religious labor among the Indians..... Yet these missionaries cannot properly be called the true pioneers of settlements, as they did not go west to attack the forests and cultivate the soil for the results of husbandry, but their going opened up the way and attracted the pioneer to follow, overcoming the rigors of a new country, and planting the tree

* History of Oregon, pp. 40, 66, 602.

of liberty at the farthest outposts of the border."*

Says Hon. M. P. Deady, Judge of the United States District Court for Oregon: "After the lapse of years we can readily see how these simple men were really the unconscious instruments of HIM 'who hath made the round world,' and ruleth the destiny of all nations that dwell thereon. Although their mission to the Indians was substantially a failure, they were of great benefit to the country. They wisely settled in the heart of the great Willamette valley, and formed there a nucleus and rallying point for the future American settlement, and thereby attracted the after-coming emigration to the Goshen of the Pacific. From the first, lay element and secular spirit was sufficiently strong among them to cause them to take root in the country, and gradually become a permanent colony, rather than remain mere sojourners among the Indians. Before long they began to build and plant, as men who regarded the country as their future home. Comparatively they prospered in this world's goods, and when the immigration came flowing into the country from the west, they found at the 'Wallamet Mission' practically an American settlement, whose influence and example

* Centennial Address, p. 33.

were favorable to order, industry, sobriety and economy, and contributed materially to the formation of a moral, industrious and law-abiding community out of these successive waves of unstratified population.

"True their Indian school had no permanent effect upon the aborigines of the vicinage,

> "'His soul their science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk or milky way;'

but it was of great advantage as a seat of learning and a means of education to the white youth of the country. 'As the shadow of a great rock in a weary land,' it attracted to its vicinity those who were desirous of protecting themselves as far as possible from the withering atmosphere of an ignorant and uncultivated community. Around it, and largely on account of it, grew up the town of Salem, now the wide-spreading capital of the State."*

Says Hon. R. P. Boise, for many years one of the Judges of Oregon: "History will record that these holy men were the nucleus around which had been formed and built the State of Oregon. They builded well, for they laid their foundation on that rock which bears up and sustains the superstructure of the civilization of

* Address before the Oregon Pioneer Association in 1875, page 26.

the last eighteen hundred years. And fortunate indeed is it that such men were here in that early time—men who knew the wants of a christian community; men who were learned in the sciences and literature, as well as theology, and knew and appreciated the value of labor and industry, and who were willing to, and did build with their own hands; men who knew how to plant in the virgin soil the seeds of virtue and knowledge, and cultivate them as they germinated and grew into churches, schools and colleges."*

These words seem to be a fitting answer to the statement made by the Missionary Boards, and to the feeling which some christians even have had, that Providence made a mistake in sending missionaries to the Indians, but show that when missionaries offered the prayer, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" it was wisely answered. They proved the wisdom of Christ's command: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

* Address before the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1876, pages 26, 27.

THE END.

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